DAILY REPORT

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HUSAK LEAVES FOR HOLIDAY IN SOVIET UNION

LD171212 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, left for a holiday in the Soviet Union today. He has been invited by the CPSU Central Committee.

POLISH CONGRESS DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED, ANALYZED

Struggle for Influence

LD181558 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1945 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Unidentified reporter's interview with foreign policy commentator Jiri Jambor on proceedings at Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress--live]

[Text] [Question] The deliberations of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress evoked the interest of the whole world. What can you say about the proceedings of the congress?

[Answer] The congress has still not ended, and therefore all speculations can have only a preliminary character. Nevertheless, there are some circumstances which we can describe now.

First, it would be wrong not to see the exceptional complexity of the Polish situation, from which some elements of the proceedings of this extraordinary congress stem. A certain chaos, which logically accompanies any exchange of views, would not matter. But, the problem is that while the celebrated chaos of the bourgeois-democratic mechanism always--and this cannot be accidental--results in strengthening the dominance of the bourgeois classes and groups, it is not clear so far to what extent the chaos at the PZPR extraordinary congress would mean the strengthening of socialism in Poland. As one journalist said--perhaps he was too harsh--the ship floats but without knowing where it's going. What is clear, however, is that along with a number of correct and principle-based voices heard at the congress, elements occured there which show the dangerous direction the ship of congress should float according to some.

The Western media launched a shrewd campaign in connection with the congress, in which they have advised the Polish congress to try to strike a happy medium between the demands of their neighbors who call for order and discipline, and internal Polish endeavor to deepen the so-called process of renewal. And those Polish officials, who in fact identify themselves silently with this shrewd attitude of explanation, are doing a disservice to the PZPR. They forget that it is in their best interest, the best interest of the Polish socialist state and its leading force--the PZPR--to have order, discipline and working rhythm renewed, and on this basis conditions would be created for the removal of the previous shortcomings and errors.

If we brought the argument to its logical conclusion, it would be possible and proper to ask these officials to imagine--if only for the sake of argument--that other socialist countries do not exist. Whom would they (?blame)? And here is a paradox: These officials are usually followers of the thesis that every communist party is, above all, responsible to its own people for the fate of socialism in its own country. But when this is true, then they should act accordingly, and not (?blame) someone else or even hide behind his back on the issues which are sensitive and require courage and decisiveness.

A number of delegates, obviously inexperienced in politics, also applauded other dubious recipes which, under the cover of megalomaniac slogans saying that this development in Poland is a sort of last chance for socialism, were recommending two things: basically, to direct the political edge of the struggle not against the rightwing but against those forces in the party which--although with a varying degree of success which is historically comprehensible--were carrying on their shoulders the main burden of the construction of the entire postwar socialist Poland, and at the same time to take over the initiative from the hands of the extremist wing of Solidarity by claiming these demands even before Solidarity could utter them. It is simply unbelievable how some people refuse to learn their lesson. They forget the old political truth which is valid throughout world: No political party which wants to fulfill the function given to it by history, can or should tear itself away from its class-political base and its interest, because it will finally remain isolated and disarmed when face-to-face with its opponents.

As for the fight against opponents, nobody objects to the fact that in certain circumstances it is necessary to maneuver. But it is equally true, in our part of the world, that under certain circumstances a decisive "no" should be uttered. It is more so that it is the truth--as much as one plus one equals two--that the wave evoked by the extremist wing of Solidarity, which is the main political danger in Poland, would finally sweep away these noble representatives of permanent oscillation. Of course, as I have said, it is too early to draw some wider conclusions, as these elements will be affected by the congress itself, and particularly its results. However, it is impossible not to notice them.

Polish Weekly Cited

LD171138 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0230 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] A Polish weekly ZYCIE [word indistinct] has published an article entitled: "Poles: Come to Your Senses Before It Is Too Late!" on the experience of the CPCZ and of the Czechoslovak people in the 1968-69 counterrevolution. The author of the article recalls the letter from five communist parties in which, in July 1968, a voice from Warsaw warned against the counterrevolutionary forces which, supported by imperialist centers, launched an extensive offensive against the socialist system in Czechoslovakia which did not meet with resistance from the party or the people's power. (?On receiving the warning), the leadership of the CPCZ in those days called it groundless.

The Polish weekly further writes about the activity of the counterrevolutionary organization K-231 and the attacks of this group against the security forces. The article points out that the renewal of activity by the Social Democratic Party was being prepared in the summer of 1968 and in Slovakia the so-called Revolutionary Committee of the Democratic Party of Slovakia appeared. The representatives of the two so-called parties had connections with Western intelligence, or were directly their agents. The letters of Kuron and Moszlewski, who were then in prison after the March provocations in Warsaw, were secretly spread around Prague.

The 13 years which have elapsed since the letter from Warsaw have shown that the experiences of Warsaw communists are still topical. Shortcomings in the work of the party, particularly in the area of ideology, are always exploited by counterrevolutionaries and revisionists, the Polish weekly emphasized.

Grishin Remarks Cited

LD181120 Prague CTK in English 0805 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Jul (CTK)--A Soviet Communist Party delegation to the special 9th Polish United Workers Party Congress, led by Politburo member and Moscow city committee First Secretary Viktor Grishin, met with officials of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society here yesterday.

Viktor Grishin stressed the delegates to the congress agree that Poland can develop as a sovereign socialist state only in firm alliance with the socialist community and fraternal ties with the Soviet Union, and that there is no other path.

He also underlined that this is the unchangeable stand of the Soviet Communist Party.

Enemies of socialism use the Polish crisis to foment anti-Soviet sentiments and spread slanders about Soviet-Polish economic contacts, he said.

In Poland itself, only few opposers to socialism and friendship with the Soviet Union spread hostile views. An overwhelming majority of the Polish people is faithful to the ideals of socialism and refuses anti-Sovietism. Nevertheless, the dangerous activities of the enemies of our friendship must not be underestimated, Viktor Grishin stressed.

Prague TV Interviews Siwak

LD182358 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Richard Pokorny dispatch from Warsaw]

[Excerpt] Some correspondents from the socialist countries have today met Albin Siwak, member of the newly-elected Central Committee. I have asked him how the situation within the party has changed since the time, a fortnight ago, when he talked about this problem on Czechoslovak television. And this is what he said:

[Begin Siwak recording in Polish fading into Czech translation] I talked in Prague about our congress in the sense that one would be able to regard it as successful if the sound reason of party members, that is the Marx-Leninist line, prevails at it. I derived my view from the course of the Warsaw city party conference where this very Marxist-Leninist line in the end dominated, despite the furious attacks by the rightwing forces. The course of the congress has so far had a similar character, although not totally. To make it clear: People have gotten in here who have nothing in common whatever with the party and who will continue to promote hostile activity against it. There are probably not many of them and therefore I believe that the party will be able in the end to deal with them at the right time and finally to rid of them, too. [end recording]

Siwak Congress Speech

LD191602 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Text] At the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress yesterday, a newly elected member of the PZPR Central Committee, Albin Siwak, delivered a very open and critical speech.

He recalled that since 1956 the workers' core of the PZPR has been growing weaker, and this has a number of consequences. The workers' interests are getting through with difficulties and they cease to dominate the party. They are even being pushed aside as secondary. On the other hand, the PZPR insufficiently affects the working class and in this way it leaves space for foreign ideologies, which are gaining more and more influence not only among workers but in all of society.

What matters is renewing the PZPR in the right way, through a revolutionary ideology and program, through class policy and democratized life within the party. A lot of errors accumulated before August 1980 as well as after it, continued Albin Siwak. Bitterness and anger accumulated in people toward the former leadership, as well as toward errors in the new one. Our hopes for improvement, for radical changes and democracy were fulfilled only in pretty-sounding words in the course of the election procedure, but not in their content, said Albin Siwak at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

It is good that workers' solidarity is growing stronger, and it is bad that the opposition is growing stronger, as well. Under the pretext of sharing [zespolecensteni] the production process, it has been suggested that stock-companies should be founded, and this aims at renovation of capitalist ownership of industry. Under the slogan to secure food for the nation, they like to create big private farms without taking into consideration the danger of the re-emergence of village poverty.

In connection with the introduction of economic reforms, liquidation of central planning is being considered and endeavors are appearing to introduce so-called market socialism, and with it the ghost of unemployment.

Poland is sinking under masses of half-legal and illegal printed material which blacken the party, the Polish system and our allies. We often speak--at the congress as well--about alliance of the forces of responsibility and commonsense, continued Albin Siwak. I am asking the authors of this expression: What sort of alliance is it? Whom with whom and whom against whom? Is it an alliance within the ties of workers and peasants, or outside them?

The ninth extraordinary congress is to determine not only the issue of the party's character, but also the relevant means for securing its ideological basis as well as to determine the political base and the answer to the question: With what aim, for whom and against whom do we fight, stressed Albin Siwak. A feeling of being endangered is growing in society, and the ghost of a civil war, inflation, unemployment and political terrorism hangs over it. It is threatened by hunger. It has a shortage of medicines, fuels and energy. The congress program must be a program of struggle with these threats. Its basic aim should be renovation of the feeling of security, of relative economic balance and marking out realistic aims in the social and material spheres.

At the conclusion of his speech at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, Albin Siwak sharply criticized some delegates of the congress for their approcah to dealing with the current party situation. He compared them to a driver who signalled a left turn while turning right: It is certain that he would cause a catastrophe.

Congress Speeches Reported

LD192027 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1630 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Text] The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress continued today with discussions in the Warsaw Palace of Science and Culture. A more detailed report on the progress of the congress has been prepared by our correspondent, Frantisek Sojka:

[Begin recording] Today's plenary session started at 0830 and, just like the deliberations on previous days, it considered the profound economic and social crisis now existing in Poland. The topics mentioned by the various delegates included, among other things, the problems of agriculture, the pressing question of ensuring the production of foodstuffs, and so on. Critical words were addressed to the health service where a noticeable shortage of drugs, hygenic means and medical and social facilities is quite evident. Also discussed was the position of women and their inadequate representation in the representative bodies, their impact on the development of events and on their solution.

Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, dealt with the problems of the younger generation and youth organizations. He pointed out tendencies to negate everything achieved in the past and stressed that members of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth would consistently fight attempts to the union which wants, on Leninist principles, to unite working youth from towns and villages and to strengthen cooperation with youth organizations in the socialist countries. He also requested that the final documents of the congress not merely generalize but speak a concrete and clear language.

A delegate from Przemysl repeated words already mentioned several times at the congress--that the program and final documents of the congress will determine the nature of the party and its reception in society.

Also underlined at today's deliberations was the necessity to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist nature of the party and the adoption of such a program which is awaited by the entire society. Another participant in the discussion expressed his concern at criticism which is frequently and totally negative, thus objectively helping the enemies of the party. In this context he pointed out the necessity of a much greater standard of ideopolitical work. He also rejected views, forced through by the socalled "Solidarity netowrk", concerning self-management organized along the lines of group ownership. "We support economic reform," the speaker noted, "but within the framework of the existing constitution."

The impossibility of the adoption of certain concepts was pointed out also by Wojciech Jaruzelski who discussed the existing complex economic situation. He stressed that production, exports and imports were falling, and described an increase in labor productivity as the main prerequisite for overcoming the current problems. He said that the kind of drop in the national income that had occurred in Poland happens only seldom in peacetime.

He also spoke about the fact that on the one hand the monetary incomes of the people had grown but, on the other hand, there has been a drop in the supply of goods. He stated that wage demands had to be postponed and that wage demands through strikes did not lead anywhere and had to be resolutely rejected. He also asked the question: Who does it help and who is behind the preparations for further pressure actions and strikes? Who wants to stir up anti-socialist events?

He stressed that should it be necessary the government would take the necessary steps to save the nation from disaster and that there existed boundaries which could not be exceeded. Wojciech Jaruzelski also mentioned the government proposals, already published, for economic reform and some other measures, and noted that their successful outcome would be determined by the speed and consistency of the implementation of all measures, and what the participation of the working people would be. He also highly praised the economic aid given to Poland by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The party Central Committee met this afternoon for its second session. The deliberations of the ninth extraordinary congress are now continuing. According to the schedule adopted today by the delegates to the congress, the congress deliberations should finish by 1400 tomorrow. [End recording]

CPCZ Daily on PZPR Congress

AU171103 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 16 July carries on pages 1 and 6 a 1,400-word Warsaw dispatch signed "(JL, KM, PM, VT)" and entitled "Second Day of The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress: Responsibility for the Future of People's Poland." The dispatch notes that the PZPR Congress agenda on 15 July dealt with procedural matters and with the number of members in diverse party bodies:

"It was decreed [stanoveno] that the first Central Committee secretary will be elected by the congress," and "with five exceptions, only delegates with valid mandates can be elected to top party bodies."

After reporting on delegates from "fraternal parties" who greeted the congress, the dispatch continues: "In the discussion the congress delegates deal with diverse problems of the current crisis. The nature of the discussion is in keeping with the complicated political, social and economic situation in the country. It stresses that the extraordinary congress should work out a precise and clearcut program for a way out of the crisis, for stabilizing socioeconomic life and maintaining and multiplying the Polish people's socialist achievements. The delegates are stressing that this cannot be achieved without consolidating the PZPR's leading role in society and its ideological unity, based on the unchangeable principles of Marxism-Leninism and on the experience of fraternal parties of the socialist community countries." After noting that A. Bednarski from Bydgoszcz "sharply criticized those 'Solidarity' bosses who demand the liquidation of the social ownership of production means and its replacement by group ownership" and also "condemned the political adventurism of those for whom 'Solidarity' is merely a cover for antisocialist activity," adding that "cooperation with 'Solidarity' is out of question on a platform created by certain circles of that organization," the dispatch stresses his statement that "the renewal of party forces will not be solved at the congress," but in plants and basic party organizations. The dispatch reports on the "delegates' critical statements about the main documents under discussion. This particularly concerns the ways out of the crisis."

The dispatch deals at length with Gen Jozef Barla's statement, who noted the current "dangerous counterrevolutionary menace coming from the antisocialist forces supported by foreign centers of political subversion" and the alarming "attempts to disorganize the system in state enterprises under the guise of radical concepts of self-administration." After noting remarks by a foreman and a mining engineer, the dispatch reports on the statement made by Albin Szyszka, who "unambiguously opposed 'Solidarity's' concept for so-called social enterprises," which would "hand over the society's property to private hands again." In dealing with C.Z. Malarski's statement, the dispatch says he demanded a protest resolution by the congress so as to neutralize the "blackening of congress delegates" by "certain 'Solidarity' bosses." Jan Zbykowski is said to have spoken on the same topic. "The congress secretariat was instructed to prepare a resolution corresponding to the gravity of the situation," the dispatch adds.

Michal Chodorowski is said to have "stood up in the defense of cooperative agriculture." The dispatch continues: "Apart from constructive contributions to the discussion, containing concrete proposals for overcoming the political and economic crisis, voices were heard at the PZPR Congress that contradict the principles of the socialist development of the Polish society. Zbigniew Ciechan, secretary of the PZPR plant committee in the Chemitex-Elana plant in Torun, for instance, in his statement defended the activity of revisionist groupings of so-called horizontal structures." M. Rakowski is said to have claimed that "the main obstacle to implementing a bold and deep reform are, allegedly, the so-called conservative forces. He demanded that the PZPR be a 'party open to all political trends and orientations, which stand on the foundations of socialism," the dispatch states.

On the same day RUDE PRAVO carries on page 6 a 900-word review of the greetings speeches by the following foreign delegates to the congress: Werner Felfe, SED; Todor Bozhinov, BCP; Vo Nguyen Giap, Communist Party of Vietnam; Ferenc Havasi, MSZMP; and Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Communist Party of Cuba.

Felfe is said to have stated that the plans for restoring the borders of the "German empire" of 1937 by "forces hostile to socialism are doomed to failure."

Bozhinov is said to have endorsed "Kania's opinion" on the present crisis being the consequence of "gross mistakes and deformations in the activity of the party and the state, and of deviations from objective laws governing the building of the new society"; he is said to have "voiced concern over the weakening of the PZPR's leading role in Polish society and over procrastination in adopting resolute and effective measures against attempts and actions of counterrevolutionary and antisocialist forces." Giap, too, is said to have voiced "concern over the current deep political, economic and social crisis in Poland" and to have hoped that the congress adopts "conclusions based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and aimed at defending the party, the state, the dictatorship of the proletariat and Poland's combat union and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community." Havasi allegedly said that "The Hungarian Communists follow with concern the development of the crisis in socialist Poland" and "stressed that only one path leads to the nation's advance and prosperity--the path of creative work. In such work, in overcoming the crisis, the Polish Communists may count on the support of the Hungarian Communists." Rodriguez is said to have expressed "the conviction that despite all difficulties Poland is and will remain a socialist country. This alone guarantees socialist achievements in Poland."

PRAGUE SCORES RECENT WEINBERGER, HAIG STATEMENTS

LD171130 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 15 Jul 81

[Text] U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger has made a speech at a conference on national security which can only be classified as a call for war. He cynically said that there are many possibilities for direct confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States and that there are no guarantees that the existing nuclear balance can avert a war of classic proportions. As usual, Weinberger invoked the alleged Soviet military threat. He hypocritically described the United States, whose policy constitutes a true threat to peace on our planet and who is escalating the arms race, as the defender of freedom.

Secretary of State Haig also attempted to justify the aggressive U.S. policy. In a speech before the Foreign Policy Association, Haig wanted to pacify the indignant West European public while simultaneously imposing U.S. nuclear missiles on it and forcing West European participation in accelerating the feverish arms race. He denied that the United States is not interested in controlling arms and that it had suspended talks with the Soviet Union on these matters. Yet the whole world knows that it was Washington which refused to ratify the USSR-U.S. Salt II Treaty and which launched a fresh round of the arms race and worsened international tension. General Haig made it quite clear to his NATO partners that he expects further increased armament from them, and cynically said that if a treaty on the reduction of the number of nuclear weapons in Europe is to be signed, then conventional (?arsenals) will have to be increased.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON KAMPUCHEAN HUN SEN VISIT

AU171305 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Jul 81 pp 1, 2

[Text of joint CSSR-Kampuchean communique on the 13-15 July visit by Kampuchean Foreign Minister Hun Sen, released on 15 Jul]

[Text] Hun Sen, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK], paid an official friendly visit to the CSSR from 13 to 15 July 1981 at the invitation of Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs.

During his stay, Hun Sen, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the PRK, was received by Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president; Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; and CSSR Deputy Premier Ladislav Gerle.

He laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior on Zizkov Hill and paid respects to the memory of Comrade Klement Gottwald.

Hun Sen, deputy chariman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the PRK, and Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, held talks in a friendly and comradely atmosphere, which affirmed an absolute unanimity of views on all discussed issues.

The two sides informed one another about the successful course of the fourth congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] and of the 16th CPCZ Congress, and about the tasks arising from them for the foreign policy of the two countries.

The two sides noted with satisfaction that between the KPR and the CSSR are successfully developing relations of fruitful cooperation and friendship on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, which is in full accordance with the conclusions of the 4th KPRP Congress and the 16th CPCZ Congress, of the visit of the CSSR party and state delegation, led by Comrade Gustav Husak, to the PRK in February 1980 and of the visit of a PRK delegation, led by Comrade Heng Samrin, to the CSSR in November of the same year. The two sides stressed that the PRK and the CSSR are interested in further expanding and deepening all-round cooperation and fraternal friendship.

The Czechoslovak side highly valued the successes of the Kampuchean people, who--under the KPRP's leadership--are achieving marked results in eliminating the tragic consequences of the genocidal regime of Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Khieu Sampan, and in the reconstruction of their country. The recent KPRP Congress and the success of the KNUFNS [Kampuchea National United Front for National Salvation] in the general elections held on 1 May 1981, which have ushered in a progressive new stage of the PRK's political, economic and cultural development, are further convincing evidence of the irreversibility of the path to socialism on which the PRK has embarked.

The two sides resolutely condemn the policy of hegemonism and expansionism of the Beijing leadership which joined forces with American imperialism and world reaction, and which threatens peace and security of states, particularly in Southeast Asia. They demand that the PRC puts an end to the military actions against the SRV and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and stops using the Pol Pot clique and other reactionary Khmer groups as an instrument for liquidating the Kampuchean revolution.

The two sides reject the UN resolutions on Kampuchea, including the so-called International Conference on Kampuchea. These actions are totally at variance with the UN Charter, and thus illegal and unlawful, constituting a flagrant violation of sovereignty and gross interference in the PRK's internal affairs.

The CSSR fully supports the initiatives of the PRK, the SRV and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, contained in the declarations of the conferences of ministers of foreign affairs of these countries. The latest conference, which was held in Phnom Penh this June, reflects with its logical and constructive proposals their good will to make Southeast Asia a zone of peace and stability. At the same time, the CSSR highly valued the strategic alliance of these three countries, which is a decisive factor of social progress.

The two sides are resolutely in favor of the expulsion of the Pol Pot clique from the UN and of restoring the PRK's legitimate rights in the UN.

The two sides noted in agreement that the issues of peace and security in Southeast Asia must be resolved by the countries of that region themselves, above all through negotiations and agreement on the principles of equality and refraining from foisting upon them alien views.

The Czechoslovak side supports the PRK's good will as regards the solution of Kampuchean refugees in Thailand, whose return can be realized only after prior direct or indirect agreement between Kampuchea and Thailand.

The Kampuchean side highly valued the successes the Czechoslovak people achieved in building an advanced socialist society under the leadership of the CPCZ, a matter that was again clearly affirmed by the successful course of the recent elections to the bodies of people's power on all levels in Czechoslovakia. It highly valued the principled, initiative and active foreign policy of the CSSR in the struggle to reduce international tension, for peace, for the security of nations and for social progress in the world. It emphasized the historical importance of the 16th CPCZ Congress for the further development of socialism in the CSSR and for the further growth of its international authority. It expressed sincere thanks to the CPCZ and the CSSR Government for their support and aid to the PRK, and underscored the CSSR's contribution to peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

The two sides expressed all-round support for the peace proposals presented by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, at the 26th CPSU Congress. They noted that the Soviet proposals correspond to the vital interests of the nations of the PRK and the CSSR, to their peace foreign policy and to the interests of all mankind.

The nations of Kampuchea and Czechoslovakia are in agreement with the position of the USSR Supreme Soviet and declare that in the spirit of the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet they will pursue activity for the ideas and proposals contained in it to become speedily implemented in the interest of the people of our planet.

The Kampuchean delegation supports the position of the CSSR Government, expressed in the programmatic declaration presented by Premier Lubomir Strougal on 30 June 1981, favoring negotiations which would put an end to the American escalation of military power in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. It supports the demand to put an end to the Iraq-Iran military conflict and settle all contentious issues through political negotiations.

The two sides fully support the constructive proposals for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, submitted by the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on 14 May 1980, and also contained in Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's speech to the 26th CPSU Congress.

At the same time, they resolutely condemn the attempts of imperialism and hegemonism to interfere in the internal affairs of that country.

The two countries expressed concern over the explosive situation in the Middle East, brought about and aggravated by the aggressive actions of Israel, which in this way systematically thwarts a just solution of the key issue of the Middle East--the ensuring of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine. They regard the convocation of an international conference, whose result would be a comprehensive and just settlement in that region, to be the only way out of the dangerous situation in that part of the world.

The two sides emphasized the growing role of the Nonaligned Movement, which they regard as a significant positive factor of the current international life. They emphasized the idea of the joint declaration published at the end of the official friendly visit by a delegation led by Heng Samrin, to Czechoslovakia in November 1980, that no intrigues of imperialists, Beijing expansionsits and other reactionary forces can prevent the PRK from taking the legitimate place which rightly belongs to it in that movement.

The Czechoslovak side stated that it will continue to support countries which uncompromisingly oppose imperialism, neocolonialism, racism while at the same time striving to overcome the difficult consequences of their colonial past, and which have embarked upon the path of independent economic development and social progress.

The two sides stressed the need for common efforts by all peace-loving states in the struggle to maintain peace and security on the Asian continent and link it to the process of the relaxation of international tension.

When assessing the situation in Europe, the two sides depicted the decision of the NATO council on the production and deployment of new nuclear medium-range missiles in some West European countries as extraordinarily dangerous. They see in this decision an attempt to upset the military equilibrium and gain superiority over the socialist countries. That step evokes further tension in the military sphere and constitutes a new threat to all European countries and their nations.

In the interest of improving the situation on the European continent, the two sides regard it as necessary to conclude the negotiations of the Madrid meeting of representative states that participated in the CSCE with a comprehensive and balanced document, containing concrete positive results. They are of the opinion that it is necessary in the first place to achieve an agreement on the convocation of an all-European conference on discussing the situation in the military sphere.

At the end of his visit, Hun Sen, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the PRK, thanked Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, for the friendly reception and cordial atmosphere which accompanied Minister Hun Sen and his entourage throughout their stay in the CSSR.

Hun Sen, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the PRK, invited Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, to pay an official friendly visit to Kampuchea. The invitation was received with thanks.

HOFFMANN RECEIVES VISITING FOREIGN OFFICIALS

Austrian Delegation

LD161212 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, received today in Prague a delegation of Austrian trade unionists, headed by Karl Matal, secretary of the international department of the union. Karel Hoffmann discussed with the Austrian guests the activity of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement before the 10th all-trade union congress. He emphasized the importance of increasing the power of enterprise committees of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. He pointed out the importance of meetings between Czechoslovak and Austrian trade unionists at various levels; these meetings contribute to the further development of cooperation, understanding and the deepening of good-neighbourly contacts between the two countries.

The group of Austrian trade unionists, mainly consisting of young people, has acquainted itself during the visit with everyday trade union work in enterprises and has met functionaries of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement with whom the role of the Czechoslovak trade unions was discussed.

Soviet Trade Union Secretary

LD172008 Prague CTK in English 1736 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Prague, 17 Jul (CTK)--Karel Hoffmann, chairman of the Czechoslovak Central Council of Trade Unions, met here Friday with a delegation of the Soviet All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, led by its secretary Kazimeras Matskyavichyus.

They discussed questions of further development and increasing of effectiveness of cooperation between Czechoslovak and Soviet trade unions in economy.

The Soviet delegation, which visited Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Central Council of Trade Unions, ended its visit Friday. The secretaries of Czechoslovak and Soviet trade unions Vladimir Marik and Kazimeras Matskyavichyus signed a working protocol.

KANIA'S ELECTION AS PZPR FIRST SECRETARY REPORTED

LD190034 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2017 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 18 Jul (ADN)--At a closed meeting of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress on Saturday night Stanislaw Kania was elected first secretary of the Central Committee. The election result was announced at the congress tonight.

Honecker Sends Congratulations

LD190920 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0849 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Text] Berlin, 19 Jul (ADN)--SED Central Committee General Secretary Honecker has sent the following congratulatory telegram to PZPR Central Committee First Secretary Stanislaw Kania.

We assure you and the PZPR leadership of our fraternal solidarity in the fight for the defense and strengthening of socialism in People's Poland, and we will also do everything in future which promotes the goodneighborly existence and friendship of our peoples.

CORRESPONDENTS REPORT ON SPEECHES AT PZPR CONGRESS

LD192115 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1619 GMT 19 Jul 81

[By ADN correspondents Willi Wurdak and Paul Weinreich]

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Jul (ADN)--The main topics of discussion at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress included questions relating to the present extremely serious economic and political-ideological situation in Poland and the role of the PZPR in solving the problems facing the country. Numerous delegates described the present situation on the basis of their own experiences and their ensuing demands and ideas were varied and very contradictory.

Speakers in the discussion reported a further deterioration in the economic situation. Many plants were standing idle. The planned production figures were not being achieved. Supplies were running only 30 to 90 percent of needs, depending on the region. Hostile anti-socialist actions of a most varied nature had continued to increase against the socialist state and the PZPR. It was to be expected, the speakers said, that the situation would be exacerbated further after the congress.

The party's main task was to strengthen the socialist power by eliminating the double rule existing in the country, said delegate Franciszek Kapp, first secretary of the Rzeszow Voivodship committee. The party's enemies at home and abroad must be exposed and decisive action taken against them. Poland had a great production potential at its disposal, raw materials and experts, yet production was dropping. There were long lines outside the shops, people were fleeing, there was no incentive to work. Tested cadres were discriminated against and intimidated. The fatherland needed help which meant that everyone must work honestly at his job--including the police who had to ensure order. The plants should be controlled by directors appointed by the state. In agreement with the party, this was the only way to break out of the magic circle in which Poland found itself. Poland's great strength lay in its unity and fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union, the CSSR and the GDR.

A party, which is supposed to play the leading role in the state, said Stefan Zawodzinski, first secretary of the Bialystok Voivodship committee, cannot allow itself the luxury of only dealing with political and ideological matters. It must be stressed with great emphasis that political power is not possible if one does not possess economic power. Zawodzinski went on to say: We as the party cannot accept the theory which has recently become fashionable in our country and projected far and wide that it is possible to participate in decision-making, control, governing without accepting a share of the responsibility. Anyone who will not share responsibility has neither a moral nor any other right to share in the government.

The first secretary of the PZPR plant committee at the "Konin" lignite works, Lechoslaw Witulski, spoke about the effects of the economic crisis in Poland. For many months, we in the party and society have been talking about the economic crisis in Poland, he said. This state of crisis has been worsening for many months. This is not only bitter for the Poles but also in no small degree for our socialist trade and economic partners. Getting out of this vicious circle is not only our duty for Polish society but also an important internationalist duty. The delegates of his voivodship had come to the congress with a declaration "in which the ideological unity of the party is resolutely supported as well as all actions which are directed against attempts at further destabilizing the party, state and economy of the country, against attempts which cast doubt on the principles of socialism and the Marxist-Leninist nature of the PZPR."

Any further sinking in the national income must be prevented "in a 3-year phase of an equal distribution of poverty [gleichgewicht der armut], said delegate Kazimierz Paszek, director of the collegium of economic schools in Leszno.

The first secretary of the Czestochowa PZPR Voivodship committee, Wladyslaw Jonkisz, called for a constructive approach to solving the tasks on the agenda. He said in this respect: "I believe that the congress must decisively oppose in its decisions anarchic-syndicalistic tendencies in developing self-administration and social relations in the plants."

Private farmer Miroslaw Danielak from Wloclawek Voivodship called for greater technological material support for the individual farmer.

Dr. Jozef Kurozielewicz, secretary of the Rabka City PZPR committee, said that it was not right that everyone has his own recipe for improving the fatherland and party. What was needed is a uniform recipe. Of fundamental importance for the future of the party is the renewal of its Marxist-Linist character. He added: "Let this be the concern of us all even when we get caught up in the running amok of sham democracy."

Albin Siwak, Warsaw construction brigadier, said that the population is feeling increasingly threatened by inflation and unemployment, by political terrorism and hunger, lack of medicines, heating fuel and energy. The congress's program must be a program of struggle against these threats. A real and proper solution to these questions will determine whether the country would be led out of the economic crisis, the ideological and political chaos.

The country's difficult situation is benefiting our internal and external enemies, said the first secretary of the Pila PZPR voivodship committee, Michal Niedzwiedz. These enemies of the party and socialism are carrying out a script on the basis of which they were trying "against a backdrop of crisis and on a wave of criticism of the past which we ourselves are undertaking, to destroy our party and in the end undermine the essence of socialism itself." The PZPR must be a Marxist-Leninist party which embodies the leading role in the state and the vanguard of society, "an internationalist party, which is linked by sincere friendship with the CPSU and other communist and workers' parties of the world."

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT ON U.S. ARMS DEBATE

DW171411 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1114 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Telephone report by Washington correspondent Horst Kaeubler]

[Text] Those who have refused to this day to ratify the SALT II treaty agreed tonight under the dome of the capitol to the highest arms budget ever for the United States. Dear listeners, the context is becoming clearer than ever. Rejecting SALT II means not tying oneself down contractually, not accepting commitments for the preservation of peace and keeping a free hand for an unmatched armament policy.

The greatest part of the approximately $220 billion in armament money, which was first approved by Senate and now by the House of Representatives, will flow into arms programs which will highly endanger peace in our world: the new mobile intercontinental MX missile, whose final deployment the Pentagon will decide in the near future; a new strategic bomber to replace the B-52; cruise missiles planned for deployment in Europe, which were to number 44 by 1982 according to plans by the Carter administration, while the Reagan administration has doubled the number to 88; missiles for the new nuclear-powered Trident class submarines; new jet fighter planes; heavy transport planes for troop movements; a new nuclear-powered aircraft carrier, and a new type of tank. Some $20.2 [?million] will be made available to step up the development of arms for space warfare, such as laser, cosmic and other radiation weapons.

Throughout the long arms debate in congress, there was not once talk of the demands by such realistic Americans of note and standing as George Kennan, Cyrus Vance, Paul Warnke and others. National security is not just a matter of new arms. In view of the military parity between the USSR and the United States it is particularly a matter of negotiations and of agreement on arms limitation and disarmament that is, reducing the danger of war. But what we heard is the word margin of safety, a word that has become a [word indistinct] a doctrine, an obsession for the rearmament faction: regaining military superiority and regaining nuclear first strike capacity.

When we view the decision made by congress tonight to adopt the highest arms budget in U.S. history, we realize why Washington is taking so disturbingly much time in accepting the Soviet negotiations offer which enjoys worldwide support today. Negotiations should take place only after they have the new arms budget safely settled; when the nuclear arms programs, such as the MXN the atom bomb [as heard] the cruise and Pershing missiles are running at high speed; and when they are able to use the policy of military strength as a means of pressure.

The former U.S. secretary of state said recently: This is not a foreign policy, this is endangerment to international peace.

'AGENT' OF FRG SECRET SERVICE SENTENCED

AU171409 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jul 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On 15 July the Berlin military higher court sentenced FRG citizen Alfred Bechthold to 10 years imprisonment under section 98 of the penal code for espionage activity on behalf of the FRG secret service. At the main trial it was proved that building contractor Bechthold was carrying out subversive activities against the GDR and the Polish People's Republic as a hired and paid agent under the cover name "Albert." In connection with the present situation in the Polish People's Republic, Bechthold got the order to contact Polish citizens of the most diverse strata with the aim of preparing further secret service actions. Upon the secret service's order the agent repeatedly visited the GDR, posing as a tourist, in order to purposefully establish connections with GDR citizens. By unscrupulously taking advantage of such contacts he obtained considerable information and worked out detailed intelligence reports on a number of persons, which he handed on to his bosses. On his espionage tours to the GDR with his Mercedes, license plate WUG-WL 39, he also investigated the control and security system of the GDR border crossing stations.

KLEIBER MEETS IRAQI OFFICIALS IN BAGHDAD

LD181928 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1456 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Baghdad, 18 Jul (ADN)--The GDR party and government delegation under Guenther Kleiber, SED Central Committee candidate member and GDR deputy premier, which is attending the Iraqi revolution anniversary ceremonies, continued its talks with Iraqi politicians on Saturday (18 July). At a meeting with Minister of Agriculture 'Amir Mahdi, Kleiber praised the positive trend in the development of GDR-Iraqi relations.

Kleiber had a talk with Iraqi Minister of Transport and Communications Sa'dun Ghaydan. Kleiber affirmed the GDR's solidarity with Iraq's struggle against imperialism and Zionism. He condemned Israel's policy of aggression against the Arab states, a policy which enjoys U.S. support. The barbaric aggression against the Palestinian people in Lebanon, he said, has caused particular revulsion.

At a reception given by Iraqi President Saddam Husayn for the heads of the foreign delegations attending the anniversary celebrations, Kleiber conveyed to the Iraqi president the most cordial greetings of Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR Council of State chairman.

SED'S AXEN TALKS WITH SWAPO LEADER IN BERLIN

LD171956 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1611 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Berlin, 17 Jul (ADN)--The GDR is to continue its internationalist solidarity for the Namibian people and to stand firmly by the side of its legitimate representative, SWAPO, SED Politburo member Herman Axen emphasized in Berlin on Friday when speaking with SWAPO President Sam Nujoma.

At the center of the friendly meeting was the development of the international situation and the common anti-imperialist fight as well as the extension of existing close relations between SWAPO and the GDR. Nujoma reported about the increased murderous terror by the South African apartheid regime against the people of Namibia fighting for their independence. He emphasized that the increasing aggression by Pretoria goes hand in hand with the increasing maneuvers and attempts by imperialism to impose on the Namibian people a neocolonialist solution. As far as SWAPO is concerned, the only response can be increased political and armed struggle.

GUINEA-BISSAU DEFENSE MINISTER MEETS COUNTERPART

LD171646 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1455 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Berlin, 17 Jul (ADN)--The GDR supports and expresses solidarity with the struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau against colonialism and neocolonialism and for freedom and independence, detente and peace. This stand was praised by Minister of the Armed Forces Paulo Correia, commander of the first rank and member of the permanent committee of the National Council of Guinea of the African Party for Independence in Guinea and Cape Verde, on Friday during a talk with Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, SED Politburo member and GDR defense minister. Correia, who is at the head of a Guinea-Bissau military delegation currently visiting the GDR, stated that the visit will contribute towards deepening the traditional friendship and cooperation between the two peoples and their armies.

Army Gen Hoffmann pointed to the exemplary performances by GDR army members at the side of their comrades in arms, the armed forces of the USSR and the other fraternal armies to guarantee a constantly high level of fighting strength and combat readiness in the interest of reliably safeguarding socialist achievements and peace.

HONECKER SENDS ANNIVERSARY TELEGRAM TO NICARAGUA

LD190432 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0203 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Berlin, 18 Jul (ADN)--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, with Prime Minister Willi Stoph sent a cordially worded congratulations telegram to leading Nicaraguan politicians on the second anniversary of the victory over the Somoza dictatorship.

In the telegram to the national leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and the governing Council of National Renewal the successes which have been gained in the fight against the consequences of the Somoza dictatorship and in the formation of an anti-imperialist, democratic order in the country are praised.

At the same time both politicians express their sympathy with the courage and the resoluteness of the Nicaraguan people, which, under the leadership of the Sandinista front, protects its national sovereignty and treads the self-chosen path of a new and just order. The Nicaraguan people, thus the telegram says, can be sure of the support and solidarity of the GDR people, as in the past.

YOUTH GROUPS PRESENT CHECK TO NICARAGUANS

AU171350 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jul 81 pp 1-2

[ADN report on meeting with Nicaraguan delegation of solidarity event of the Society for Sport and Technology (GST) in Tambach-Dietharz on 15 Jul]

[Summary] Gotha (ADN)--"The GDR youth, prepared for defense, is most deeply allied with the strugglers of the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua." This was declared by Maj Gen Kraemer, deputy chairman of the GST executive board, at a solidarity meeting in the Roe Jungfront central GST training camp in Tambach-Dietharz on the occasion of the second anniversary of the revolution. Maj Gen Kraemer symbolically handed over a check of M300,000 to a delegation from Nicaragua, headed by Roger Antonio Baldizonybarra, envoy of the Republic of Nicaragua.

MEETING BETWEEN FDJ AND FRG YOUTH RING

AU171624 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jul 81 pp 1-2

[ADN report on the GDR visit of a delegation of the German Federal Youth Ring of the FRG from 12-15 Jul]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--Upon invitation of the FDJ Central Council a delegation from the German Federal Youth Ring of the FRG, headed by Leopold Monz, visited the GDR from 12 to 15 July. The delegation comprised functionaries of the socialist youth of Germany--the Falcons, the Youth of the German Trade Union Federation, the Youth of the Nature Lovers, Catholic Youth, the Youth of the German Employees' Trade Union, the Schreber Youth and the League of German Boy Scouts in the Democratic Youth League as well as chairmen of Laender Youth Rings.

A seminar on "the responsibility of youth organizations from countries of diverse social order for the representation of the interests of youth, above all for maintaining peace," was held.

At the end of the seminar Egon Krenz, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, received the representatives of the German Federal Youth Ring of the FRG for a talk on topical questions on the struggle for peace and detente. On behalf of the FDJ he expressed respect for the FRG youths' share in the peace movement of their country. Egon Krenz stressed that young people are interested, in particular, that the arms race is stopped, no new American medium range missiles are deployed and thus peace becomes more secure.

On the basis of the January 1978 joint communique between the FDJ and the German Federal Youth Ring of the FRG, the delegations exchanged experiences on how they could contribute that a war would never again emanate from German soil. They reaffirmed the necessity of resolutely supporting the halt to the arms race. Despite diverse ideological and political positions it is a dictate of the hour not to allow human civilization to be extinguished by war. It is time that negotiations on the non-deployment of new and the reduction of existing nuclear missiles will be started immediately. The FDJ and the German Federal Youth Ring of the FRG regard it as the tasks of their organizations to resolutely support young people's fundamental right for peace.

In the seminar the representatives of the FDJ referred to the broad approval of the GDR youth to the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Warsaw Pact nations.

The delegation of the German Federal Youth Ring of the FRG reported on the activities of its leagues in the increasing peace movement of the FRG and on their ideas in the peace education of youth. Both youth organizations stressed the positive results of the world forum of youth and students for peace, detente and disarmament, which took place in Helsinki in January 1981. They reaffirmed that they would act in the spirit of the results of this important international forum. They also believe it is necessary to continue in the future to exchange views on the fundamental interests of youth in countries of diverse social order. Especially in view of the aggravated international situation, this is an urgent necessity.

During its stay in the GDR the delegation of the German Federal Youth Ring of the FRG was guest of the "Havelobst" central youth project and the Werder Youth Tourist Hotel. The delegation visited the Sachsenhausen national memorial and laid a wreath in honor of the victims of fascism.

On Wednesday Klaus Boelling, permament representative of the FRG in the GDR, gave a reception in honor of the delegation of the German Federal Youth Ring. It was attended by Egon Krenz, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, and Gunter Rettner, secretary of the FDJ Central Council.

BRIEFS

SYRIAN MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE--On 9 July, Guenther Kleiber, SED Central Committee Politburo candidate member and minister of construction of general machinery, agricultural machinery and vehicles, received Hamid Musawkar, minister of agrarian reform and agriculture of the Syrian Arab Republic, who is heading a delegation visiting the agra exhibition. In a friendly exchange of ideas, questions of further developing cooperation in the mechanization of agriculture and in setting up facilities for the agriculture and foodstuffs industry were discussed. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jul 81 p 2 AU]

COOPERATION WITH AFGHANISTAN--During a visit of (Abdul Qader Mal), chairman of the BAKHTAR agency, at the invitation of ADN, measures for expanding the friendly cooperation between the news agencies of the GDR and Democratic Republic of Afghanistan were agreed. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jul 81 p 2 AU]

TRANSPORTATION COOPERATION WITH USSR--The scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the USSR is determined by six government agreements and numerous other agreements of research and development institutions. This includes consultations on special work results, the comprehensive exchange of experiences among experts and the joint handling of research and development subject . In this year about 100 subjects will be dealt with in the field of transportation. Tasks will be to increase the capacity of routes or central reloading places, rationalization measures and automation measures for railroad yards and the creation of a train radio system. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jul 81 p 2 AU]

AGREEMENT WITH SPAIN--On 9 Jul in Berlin the GDR National Committee for Radio and the Spanish National Radio and Television Corporation signed an agreement on continuous cooperation. Among other things it provides for "the exchange of music programs and increased mutual information and reporting." [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11-12 Jul 81 p 2 AU]

COOPERATION WITH ROMANIAN ACADEMY--On 10 Jul in Berlin a plan on cooperation between the academies of sciences of the GDR and the Socialist Republic of Romania was signed for the years 1981-85. The delegations were headed by Claus Grote, general secretary of the GDR Academy of Sciences, and Serban Titeica, deputy chairman of the Romanian Academy of Sciences. The agreements are to increase cooperation in the fields of chemistry, mathematics, physics, biosciences and social sciences. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND In German 11-12 Jul 81 p 2 AU]

NEPSZABADSAG COMMENTS ON HAIG 14 JULY SPEECH

LD181114 Budapest MTI in English 1030 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Budapest, 18 Jul (MTI)--NEPSZABADSAG comments in its Saturday issue on U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig's recent speech at the Foreign Affairs Society of New York.

In connection with the aim of the speech, the Budapest daily points out:

"Reagan is being pestered for over a month to present comprehensive foreign policy concepts of his administration. If it was now Haig's task to meet the demand on behalf of the President, it would be particularly timely to ask him about what he has left out. Because speaking for the biggest power of the capitalist world, it is simply impossible to 'forget' what was offered by Leonid Brezhnev from the platform of the CPSU Congress for clarifying disputed questions on the topmost level. And how can one afford to keep quiet about the suggestions which were made at the time of West German politician Brandt's visit to Moscow and which aroused a wide echo in Western Europe? Calling for stopping deployment of missiles in Europe at once, these proposals urged the immediate beginning of talks without conditions. The seriousness of the USA's foreign policy stand is basically put into query by the fact that it leaves out of attention the views and readiness of the most important partner," writes the paper.

PRESS REPORTS COMMUNIQUE ON LAZAR VISIT TO GREECE

AU171420 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Jul 81 p 4

[Joint Communique on Hungarian-Greek Prime Ministerial Talks"]

[Text] At the invitation of Yeoryios Rallis, prime minister of the Hellenic Republic, Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, paid an official visit to Greece from 13 to 15 July 1981.

The two premiers exchanged views on Hungarian-Greek relations and international issues expected to be of mutual interest. Their talks were conducted in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual respect.

The two premiers reviewed with satisfaction the progress attained in developing bilateral relations between the two countries and reaffirmed their determination to continue striving to develop lasting good-neighborly and friendly relations and cooperation on the basis of independence, sovereignty, nonintervention in one another's domestic affairs, equal rights and mutual advantage.

The parties emphasized the importance of high-level meetings in the flourishing development of bilateral relations and reaffirmed their wish to continue such meetings.

They devoted particular attention to examining economic relations and the means available for further developing them. The parties reviewed bilateral economic relations and noted with satisfaction that the agreement concluded in 1980 on developing economic, industrial and technical cooperation could be turned into an effective instrument for further developing cooperation in all areas expected to be of mutual interest. They recorded, within the framework of this agreement, that every effort should be made to develop trade relations and expand their scope. These relations have developed considerably in recent years. On the basis of mutual interests and the decrees valid in the two countries, contacts between the two countries' enterprises should be encouraged and the establishment of joint enterprises should be promoted.

They paid special attention also to the area of road transportation. In the spirit of the friendship and mutual understanding characteristic of mutual relations, they agreed that the two countries' competent authorities will continue to maintain close contacts with one another with a view to developing cooperation in this area and facilitating road transportation, on the basis of mutual interest.

The parties acknowledged with satisfaction the mutual interest in concluding bilateral agreements, thus the agreements on veterinary medicine, plant hygiene, prevention of double taxation and social insurance. During the visit, they exchanged a document confirming the civil and criminal legal aid agreement and a protocol ratifying the agreement on scientific and technical cooperation concluded between the governments of the Hellenic Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic on 8 October 1979 in Budapest.

The parties assessed positively the development of their relations in the areas of culture, science and tourism. These relations contribute to better understanding of the two countries' cultural values. They expressed their resolve to expand their cooperation in these areas.

The two premiers exchanged views on a few timely international issues. They noted with satisfaction that their views are identical or very close on a whole range of issues.

The parties expressed their profound concern over the growing international tension. They stressed the importance of preserving the achievements of peace and detente, of restraining the arms race and efforts toward genuine disarmament and of the need to eliminate points of tension and settle the existing conflicts through peaceful means.

The premiers stressed that a full implementation of the final act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe should be sought by all the participating countries. They expressed the hope that balanced and constructive decisions aimed at developing cooperation and strengthening security in Europe will be reached at the Madrid meeting. To that end, they support the reaching of an unequivocal decision on convening a European disarmament conference, the purpose of which would be to adopt practical confidence-building measures, to be followed by an effective disarmament process.

The premiers expressed their concern over the dangers caused by the continuation of the arms race and adopted a position in favor of universal and total disarmament in the areas of both conventional and nuclear weapons, under strict and effective international control.

The parties expressed concern over the present Middle East situation. They were in favor of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the crisis on the basis of Israel's complete withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and recognition of the Palestinian Arab people's inalienable right to self-determination, including the right to establish their own state, as well as the right of all countries of the area to live in peace and security.

The parties reviewed the Cyprus situation, which continues to endanger peace and security in the area. They supported a just and lasting solution on the basis of the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and nonalignment of the Republic of Cyprus and the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations. They expressed the hope that the discussions of the community of the peoples in progress under the auspices of the UN secretary general will lead to positive results.

The premiers emphasized that they are completely satisfied with the results of their meeting and the talks they have conducted. They expressed the conviction that these talks will impart a new impetus to the further development of Greek-Hungarian relations.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, Gyorgy Lazar, has invited Yeorios Rallis, prime minister of the Hellenic Republic, to pay an official visit to Hungary, who has accepted the invitation with pleasure.

REPORTAGE ON JULY 17 PZPR CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

Problem Teams' Discussions

LD172328 Warsaw PAP in English 1540 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Jul--Important, at times heated and controversial discussions, took place today at 16 task groups appointed by the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress. Numerous proposals were put forth by delegates and also by prominent politicians, economists, scientists, writers and artists taking part in the working sessions.

Group One--debating the problem of unity of the Polish United Workers Party and the party's leading role in the struggle for socialist renewal laid emphasis on the necessity of the party's ideological unity. Bigger proportion of workers in the authorities was called for. It was stressed that Marxism-Leninism should be taught on the day-to-day basis instead of at teaching sessions exclusively. "In the not too distant past," said one speaker, "we used to sleep at teaching sessions and at the same time were enraptured over statistics on the growth of party ranks."

Group Two--discussing role of the PUWP statute and the party activity--acquainted itself with draft amendments proposed by the congress statute commission. The amendments were drafted on the basis of postulates received by the commission before and during the congress and on conclusions reached by the commission itself during discussion.

Group Three--tackled the problem of socialist democracy and self-governance. The postulates tabled aim at strengthening democratic transformations in the party and the country while taking into account the fact that these transformations are taking place in conditions of powerful pressure brought to bear by forces hostile to the party. Emphasis was laid on institutional guarantees allowing for co-participation of the citizens in the country's life. A speedy enactment by the Sejm of the whole packet of civic laws was called for. "May democracy be firmly impressed on our present-day life," said one speaker.

Group Four--discussing the role of the press, radio and television in the party's ideological-educational and propaganda activity, of the appropriate congress resolution and proposed a number of amendments. The group passed a resolution in which, referring to the opinion voiced by factory crews and party organizations, critically evaluated the to-date course of television coverage of the congress open sessions. The resolution recommends that party members on the staff of the committee for radio and television immediately start full coverage of the congress open plenary discussion.

Problems of the country's younger generation were reviewed by Group Five. It was stressed that educational and ideological work among young people, largely neglected in previous years, should be upgraded. The necessity of preserving a proper relation between the party and the youth movement was emphasized. Young people should be treated as a partner, and their knowledge, qualifications and youthful enthusiasm should be used to the full.

Group Six--discussing the economic policy and assumptions of the economic reform--concentrated on numerous concrete proposals relating to the implementation of the reform's assumptions, bringing order into the existing legislative regulations, removal of bureaucratic mechanisms from the management system and mode of thinking. The congress--it was said--should impart the highest priority to the reform. Its postponement is exacerbating the country's economic situation.

Group Seven--tackling market problems--concentrated on the food market. Opinions, especially concerning price reform, differed but most speakers agreed that a price reform is necessary provided it is preceded by broad public consultation and takes due care of the requirements of social justice.

Group Eight--discussed international policy and economic cooperation with foreign countries. "We are unlikely to increase exports unless we create economic legal mechanisms and ensure proper relations between the manufacturing and the foreign trade enterprises," stressed the speaker. Supplies for exporting enterprises and incentives for co-producers were stressed as priorities and speakers said that new sources by hard currency earnings should be sought.

Group Nine--concerned itself with the raw materials and intermediate materials economy. The proper functioning of the power industry was high on the agenda. Speakers stressed that the country needs a comprehensive programme of power industry development. More efficient use of energy, especially by the railways and the cement works, was called for as part of global energy saving measures. "Only by making our buildings more air-tight we could save about 25 million tonnes coal, or as much as we propose to mine in the entire Lublin coal basin.

In Task Group No. Ten, which deals with problems of the development of countryside and food economy, over 100 persons asked for the floor, most of them being private farm owners. The discussion is marked for critical remarks but constructive. The supreme goal of criticism is to ensure that such conditions for production of food are created in Polish agriculture, that we should never lack it.

Task Group Eleven, which discusses questions of education and national culture, is holding its debates in two sections. Even the highest outlays on culture are not unprofitable as they pay back many times over in the [word indistinct] sphere, says one of the theses raised during the discussion. Ways are also being sought to improve the situation of schooling, its renewal and betterment of the living conditions of teachers, especially in the countryside.

The subject of debates of Task Group Twelve is science and technology in the service of national economy. It is necessary to make more communicative and increase the thrust-force of scientific opinions in order to do away with the so far frequent "dialogue of the minute" between scientifists and decisionmakers, it was said.

In the Task Group Thirteen a proposal was made to adopt temporary measures which would ensure to the health service the indespensable medical equipment and medicines, and step up the commissioning of medical projects now under construction. In the opinion of the participants in the discussion it is necessary to counter-act more effectively and consistently such dangerous social phenomena as alcoholism and narcotics addiction.

The chief subject of discussion in the Task Group Fourteen is the proper relations between the party and trade unions. It was stated that the leading role of the PUWP in the state and society would depend in a large measure on cooperation with the trade unions movement. Problems of self-government made another important trend of the discussion. Opinions were expressed deploring the lack of laws on self-government and trade unions which participants in the discussion believed to impede the arrangement of proper relations between the party and the trade unions movement. Stressing the need for a businesslike, partner discussion of the party with all labour organizations the discussants expressed a view that the present dialogue between the links of the PUWP and of the trade unions movement, Solidarity in particular, was insufficient.

Task Group Fifteen, which deals with social policy problems, today centred its discussion on housing construction and just principles of flats' distribution. The speakers voiced the conviction that there should be two basic criteria for the flats' distribution: the waiting time and the thoroughly examined housing conditions of a given family.

The party cannot deprive itself of the cadres policy instrument, stressed the delegates participating in the discussion of Task Group Sixteen. This policy, however, needs to be changed.

A comprehensive system of cadres policies adapted to the new arrangement of social forces, to the complex political and economic tasks should become still this year the subject of a Central Committee's plenary meeting. Everyone, who starts to work in the party apparatus and the central state administration must bear in mind that this is a social service for the country and for the party, that one should offer one's best in order to be afterwards able to return to normal professional work enjoying full appreciation of the society, it was stressed.

Further Details

LD171708 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Report by the Polish Press Agency on the work of the task teams of the 9th Congress: Here is a short report on the discussion in the 14th Problem Team dealing with the relationship between the party and the trade union and on the session of the 9th team dealing with matters pertaining to the rational management of raw and other materials.

The discussion in the 14th team went considerably beyond what it was strictly supposed to discuss. It was pointed out that the relationship between the party and the trade unions depends on many conditions [words indistinct]. The importance of this problem both for finding a way out of the present crisis and for the future development of a socialist society was mentioned. In the context of the attitude of the party to the trade unions (?much) was said about the fundamental problems of the party undergoing renewal. It was stated that its leading role in the state and society will depend to a considerable extent on cooperation with the trade union movements. The second undercurrent of the discussion involved issues of self-government. The trade unions have an important role to play here and the way they work will also depend on the way self-government functions. Many of those taking part in the discussion spoke with regret about the continuing lack of statutes on workers' self-government and on trade unions. It was stated that the absence of these legal acts also makes more difficult the development of suitable relations between the party and the trade union movement.

At the session of the 9th Problem Team dealing with matters pertaining to the rational management of raw and other materials and fuel and power much attention was devoted to matters pertaining to the correct functioning of the power industry. Several of the speeches drew attention to the fact that the development of this sphere of the economy should be faster than that of the other industries. The country needs an integrated program for the development of the power industry which also takes into account the country's fuel and power potential. The discussion also pointed out how the consumption of fuels and power in various sectors of the economy could be reduced, for instance on the railways and in the cement industry. It was stated, by others, that an improvement alone in the insulation of buildings would enable us to save about 25 million tons of coal [period not indicated], in other words the same amount that we plan to exploit in the whole of the Lublin coal basin.

Matters pertaining to geology were also discussed. It was stated that an increase in the range of geological exploration and the protection of raw material resources should be considered particularly important tasks.

Plenary discussion has already ended in the 5th task group dealing with matters of the young gerneration of People's Poland. After the break, the delegates taking part in this team will collect suggestions and will prepare a programmatic decision which will enrich the congress documents. The delegates said it must be a principle for a Marxist party to see problems of young people in conjunction with the whole of society. The greatest importance must be attached to development and ideological work which was neglected in years past.

The government must create a long-term program for solving the very difficult social conditions of young people. Suggestions from the report regarding the situation of youth at the start of their lives and jobs for young people must not be swept under the rug.

As you know there are sixteen of these teams. We shall return to the subjects they have been dealing with [words indistinct]

More on PAP Report

LD171508 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1320 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Here is a PAP report on the work of the problem teams. We remind you that at this moment there is a break in the deliberations of the ninth party congress.

In Problem Team Three, devoted to problems of socialist democracy and self-government and strengthening law and order in the socialist state, a heated and sharp discussion is in progress. Points of view which sometimes differ are being presented. Proposals are being put forward aimed at strengthening democratic transformations in the party and the country, at the same time [word indistinct] that the democratic transformations are taking place in Poland in conditions of strong pressure from forces hostile to the party. The vital need is being pointed out for a broader mobilization of the Sejm and the people's councils. It is stressed that our parliament has not tackled many fundamental (?matters) for society and it is proposed that it should meet more often. There is talk about the need to democratize the principles of the electoral regulations for the Sejm and people's councils.

Problem Team One deliberations are devoted to problems of party unity and its leading role in society. It is being said that Marxism-Leninism must not be taught only at training sessions, but constantly in everyday activity. In the (?not so) distant past, we [word indistinct] training, proud of the statistics of an increase in those joining the party, said [words indistinct]. Somebody (?added) that despite the often sharp polemics, they agree on one thing: The ninth congress should reject the former practice of replacing the leading role of the party by direct links between the administration, the economy and other spheres of social life. The view is being expressed that leadership for the party lies in harmonizing the interests of social classes and strata; [word indistinct] the definition and choice of [word indistinct] and a correct cadre policy, influence over which the party cannot renounce.

Media Affairs Team Details

LD171742 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1630 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Report by Tadeusz Wisniewski from the PZPR Congress studio]

[Excerpt] In Warsaw the fourth day of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress is taking place today. About 1730 the delegates assembled in a closed session. Two hours earlier a plenary session took place at which the chairman of the fourth congress team, the editor-in-chief of GLOS ROBOTNICZY from Lodz, Lucjusz Glodkowski, spoke. This team dealt with the role of press, radio and television in ideological, educational and propagandistic activities of the party. He said that having learned the opinion of work forces and party organizations, the Fourth Problem Team has reached the determination that the television broadcasts from plenary and open sessions of the congress to date were causing serious reservations. This authorized the members of the team to raise a motion, recommending to the party comrades employed on the committee for radio and television affairs, to set in motion at once a many-hours retransmission block from the open plenary discussions at the congress.

Next, the press congress spokesman, the editor in chief of TRYBUNA LUDU, Wieslaw Bek, raised the motion, having communicated with the leadership of the committee for radio and television affairs, that beginning from tomorrow such a block should be set in motion, which would move back by from 6 - 9 hours, the first or second television program. He also informed the delegates that television has transmitted more than 14 hours of congress programs and that the television news bulletins devoted to the congress occupied almost 4 hours. The discussion, in which five delegates spoke, continued after the speech by the congress press spokesman. Their speeches were retransmitted in the congress studio on the second program of Polish Radio.

Open Plenary Debates Resumed

LD171817 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] A moment ago the congress resumed its deliberations. This is a plenary open debate. We are recording its proceedings and we will be showing it to you in our information block which will begin at 2015.

Congress Speakers' Comments

LD180952 Warsaw PAP in English 2048 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Jul (PAP)--The plenary debate continued on the fourth day of the PUWP Congress on Friday, July 17.

Tadeusz Rajna, a private farmer from Plomykowo, western Poland, said that the debates on agriculture cannot assume campaign form. They must lead to decisions and these must be carried out. Rajna appealed for activation of industry producing for agriculture needs. He said outlays thus channeled will give quick returns while the growth of agricultural production will put the entire economy in order again. He called for developing the processing industry so that the total of farmers and crops are not wasted.

Rajna also suggested the introduction of fixed prices for agricultural products for periods of several years to guarantee the profitability of individual crops even in years of bumper harvests. Preferential prices (?add) to distortions in the supply structure of agricultural products.

Tadeusz Rajna also criticized too frequent reorganizations in agriculture which, he said, ruin one order without bringing in a new one.

Stefan Zawodzinski, first secretary of voivodship PUWP organization in Bialystok, warned against ignoring economic issues. A party called to act the leading role within the state cannot afford to focus exclusively on political and ideological issues. With all the force it must be stressed that it is impossible to have political authority without exercising economic power.

Following the actions of the Sejm, the government and the various ministries, one gets the impression that they deal only with future issues while the everyday life problems are left to be solved on their own that [words indistinct] postulates, said Zawodzinski, that before the new management systems begin to function, the government and the ministries take up more precise actions, actions which would help to ease everyday problems.

Since the party is responsible for economic affairs, it is its duty to decide about them too. Their intereference cannot be restricted to minor decisions but must involve inspiration and control. The party cannot either present all government or ministerial decisions as its own.

It is not also possible for usual representatives of the party to agree with the recently launched and popular theory that one may co-decide, co-control and co-govern without bearing a share of the responsibility.

Jozef Kurdzielewics, M.D. secretary of the town PUWP committee in Rabka, compared the congress and the debate to a dramatic consultation, in the medical sense of the term. This consultation is also a great hope, said Kurdzielewics, but let us say it openly--the party will not survive another strike. The congress documents must provide the right prescription for the renewal of [words indistinct] of the state. Unfortunately, the programme assumptions cannot be viewed in a different light but that of mere noble intention. [Words indistinct] the consolidation of the party's Marxist-Leninist character is of fundamental importance for its future. Through this congress the party must regain its face. What is necessary is vigorous and all-round diversified party activity. All factions and splits are the gravest sins one could commit.

I demand that the congress (?find) an end to the dramatically deteriorating situation in health care. We have run out of dressing material, medicines, simple equipment, and the state of the hospitals is better left unmentioned, said the delegate. I am for penalizing the guilty of our drama, said Kurdzielewics. Evil must be combatted till the very end, but the administering of justice also requires dignity. Let us not only judge people, let us also judge mechanisms.

Wladydcncpenkisz, first secretary of the voivoidship PUWP Committee in Czestochowa, pressed satisfaction that a lot of attention is paid to youth problems in the draft congress resolution. This is justified, he said, but the fact that in the past the problems of the young generation were disregarded and the August '80 protest was very much a protest of young people. That is why resorting the youth's confidence in their life capacities [words indistinct] leadership of the party is such an important task.

The draft statute of the party has also outlined the role party members are to play in the activity of representative institutions, in the place of work and residence.

Lechoslaw Witulski, first secretary of the factory PUWP committee of the Konin lignite mine, said he believed that the overcoming of the crisis should begin with the regulation of the most important issues in three sectors of the national economy: mining, the power industry, and agriculture.

We believe it is necessary for the government to immediately and seriously start working on the fuel-energy complex.

On behalf of the Konin Region delegates the speaker expressed definite support for the ideological unity of the party. We are against, he said, all attempts at destabilizing the party, state and the economy of the country, attempts at undermining the principles of socialism and the Marxist-Leninist character of the PUWP.

Dadeusz Kiedriwski, farmer of the Losino village, Slupsk Voivodship, said that the conviction prevails in the society that in order to overcome both the political and the economic crisis, agricultural production must be increased. The basic obstacles to this process have been recently eliminated. The majority of those solutions were of a political character and the farmers are now awaiting for them to be implemented in practice. This applies, inter alia, to the thesis about the unity of Polish agriculture. It is currently necessary to create equal conditions for development in all the regions of the country and in the case of all farmholds.

[Words indistinct] relations constitute the issue that is decisive for the success of the economic reform in agriculture. Let me postulate here, Keidrowski said, that every price change for industrial production means for agriculture is adequately compensated by an increase in the price of agriculture products. The principles of informing about price changes in agriculture a year in advance should become obligatory. The financial mechanism in agriculture must ensure production profitability on the one hand, and on the other prevent the occurence of unjustified disproportions which always induce goods deficits on the foot market.

If we want, [words indistinct] carry out the just principle of the agricultural policy, the speaker said, that there is one agricultural Poland, then it is necessary to develop broad cooperation among all agricultural sectors.

Michal [name indistinct], first secretary of the voivodship committee in Pila, expressed opinion that post-August events--forced wage revindications chiefly--have a significant impact on aggravating the increasingly felt crisis.

Our difficult situation is favourable to our foreign and domestic opponents, enemies of our party and socialism from the confederation of Independent Poland [KPN], the Workers' Defense Committee [KOR] and other extremists within "Solidarity," the speaker said. (?Those) forces try to so manipulate the moods of the [word indistinct] as to break up the party, to see its members at variance and question the essence of socialism.

The draft programme documents presented at the 9th congress can serve as a basis for measures counter-acting the development of these dangerous trends.

The speaker said that renewal can ensure this process full and lasting realization. The guarantor of renewal is our Marxist-Leninist party performing the leading role in the country and the society, an internationalistic party linked by the ties of friendship with the CPSU and the other fraternal communist parties in the world, a party guided by the principles of democratic centralism, guarding the unity of action.

Jozef Jarmala, shift foreman at the "Turow" coalmine, Jelenia Gora Voivodship, stated that the party was forced to convene the supreme party forum on account of the activity of the previous leadership who had effectively worked on sinking the party, crushing its credibility and destructing the economy. Today the majority of party members wants to work out a new, feasible programme.

Guilty of the present situation are not only Gierek and Jaroszewicz, but also those comrades who served the previous leadership by isolating it from party members. This isolation must be removed so as not to enable comrades belonging to this group to become, for yet another time, executors of the renewal. Conditions for the working class to closely watch every move made by the leadership of the party and the leadership to look to the working class straight into the eyes must be created. Party members have demanded of us to elect to the authorities loyal and soberly thinking people, people with warm hearts and clean hands. This does not come up as a surprise, since the country cannot be rebuilt by the same hands which, "constructing the second Poland" have destroyed the first.

Unless we learn to make good use of the mines of our land, continued Jarmala, we will not be able to solve the problem of raw materials dependency on abroad. In spite of the difficult economic situation, we cannot economize on the housing industry, he concluded.

Stefan Walter, foreman at the Zamech metallurgical plant in Elblag, spoke [words indistinct] of a consistent implementation of the process of political and economic renewal, initiated by the 6th plenum of the party, the basic condition and basis of all congress deliberations. The resolutions we are taking up at the congress the speaker stated, have to be definitely orientated at socialist democracy, leaving no outlets for the penetration of conservatives and "professional renewal champions." We have to isolate from power those who have cheated the country, led it into economic bankruptcy.

There should be no exceptions or ambiguous statements left in the statute that would allow for any kind of scheming, the speaker went on. The statute must be obligatory to all party members in the same way. We are of the opinion that the bann of combining administrative and party functions should apply to all members without exception. The deformations in the party activity were due to the lack of such a principle. Party masses must be sure that by eliminating party authorities government [words indistinct] could truly become a representative of the interests of all the working people.

The decision of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee concerning important domains of party and nation life must be preceded by broad consultation with party members and society. In this we see the basis for the principle of democratic centralism.

The congress must fully confirm the life of renewal. We have confidence that the election of a new trustworthy leadership will accelerate this activity. At the same time we believe that the process of purging the party ranks has to go on.

[Name indistinct] Lelental, farmer of Krzesk village, Siedlic Voivoidship, said that the country is expecting of the 9th extraordinary congress a concrete and workable programme that would create hope for improving the situation. The farmers are also awaiting important decisions on agriculture, he said.

Everybody is speaking of a green light for agriculture, but it is nothing but a meaningless slogan. Agriculture is the main pillar of economy, on which all activity aiming at getting the country out of the crisis must be founded. The increase in agricultural production is dependent on two principal factors: the supply of industrial production means and stable agricultural [word indistinct].

Poland, stated Lelental, is capable of feeding itself under the condition that the government increases outlays for agriculture. The processing industry must be expanded. Otherwise we will not avoid wasting crops.

During the last days' preparations for the 9th congress, at a moment when the Polish society was full of expectations and hope we have learnt that tension is building up again in the country due to new strike warnings. We the farmers want peace, we want to everything that was born this year to ensure [word indistinct] to the entire nation. We strongly protest against those who want to lead the Polish nation to annihilation.

Kania, Jaruzelski Reelected

LD171653 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1642 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Here is the congress studio. We will supplement the review of what has been happening with the latest item that has reached us from the Polish Press Agency. Ladies and gentlemen, you already are aware of the first sentence of this report. At 1720 after a brief break the deliberations of the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress were resumed--this time behind closed doors exclusively with the participation of delegates. The chairman of the returning commission announced the results of the voting for members of leading echelons of the party, members and candidate members of the PZPR Central Committee, members of the Central Auditing Commission and members of the Central Party Control Commission. The elections were held, as you are aware, yesterday in the early hours of the evening.

Among the 200 elected members of the PZPR Central Committee are Stanislaw Kania and Wojciech Jaruzelski, for whom the delegates gathered in the congress hall gave a warm ovation, Kazimierz Barcikowski, Stefan Olszowski and Mieczyslaw Rakowski. The closed deliberations of the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress are continuing.

Central Committee List

LD171820 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 17 Jul 81

[All names are as heard]

[Text] Here is the full composition of the members of the PZPR Central Committee and the candidate members:

The following comrades have been elected members of the Central Committee: Zbigniew Abramowicz; Hieronim Andrzejewski; Marian Arenc; Maciej Auguscik;

Edward Banicki; Franciszek Banko; Kazimierz Barcikowski; Kazimierz Bartelik; Ireneusz Bombelek; Edmund Bonckiewicz; Jan Bednarowicz; Wieslaw Bielas; Jerzy Blaszak; Stanislaw Blonski; Zygmunt Bobrowski; Jadwiga Borowiecka; Kazimierz Borowik; Czeslaw Borowski; Bogdan Borys; Ryszard Brodowicz; Jozef Brozek; Jan Bublik;

Tadeusz Chmielniak; Zbigniew Ciechan; Janusz Ciesielski; Tadeusz Czechowicz; Antoni Czernaluk; Jozef Czyrek; Zdzislaw Daniluk; Jerzy Dabrowski; Sabina Dobosz; Edward Dobrowolski; Henryk Domrzal; Krzysztof Dorosz; Ignacy Drabik; Mieczyslaw Drazek; Kazimierz Dudek; Jozef Dul; Kazimierz Dyjak; Wladyslaw Dzidzinski;

Felicja Fornalska; Zygmunt Galecki; Zdzislawa Gepska; Czeslaw Gierczynski; Jozef Gil; Wlodzimierz Giller; Jan Glowczyk; Stanislaw Godziszewski; Roman Golinski; Mieczyslaw Grabowski; Jozef Gryniewicz; Roman Grzegorczyk; Zdzislaw Grzelak; Zofia Grzyb; Jozef Gwozdz;

Zbigniew Han; Boleslaw Harazim; Andrzej Hofman; Zbigniew Hus; Tadeusz Iskrzycki;

Tadeusz Jaglowski; Jozef Jakubiecz; Jan Jancz; Jan Janicki; Jerzy Janicki; Alfred Janus; Wojciech Jarecki; Boleslaw Jaremkiewicz; Jozef Jarmala; Wojciech Jaruzelski; Tadeusz Jasinski; Tadeusz Jemialo; Franciszek Jeziorek;

Kazimierz Kaczorowski; Jozef Kalisz, Stanislaw Kalkus; Pawel Kaminski; Stanislaw Kania; Franciszek Kardynal; Maria Karwala; Marian Kasprzycki; Edward Kazimierski; Tadeusz Kiedrowski; Czeslaw Kiszczak; Stanislaw Klaczyk; Ryszard Kmieczak; Stanislaw Knap; Kazimierz Kolakowski; Kazimierz Konieczko; Leszek Kordowski; Albert Kosowski; Jan Kowalski; Kazimierz Kowalski; Miroslawa Kozian; Wiktor Koziolek; Barbara Kozlowska; Julian Kraus, Slawomir Krupa; Franciszek Ksiezarczyk; Hieronim Kubiak; Ryszard Kucharski; Jerzy Kurdziel; Jerzy Kurdzielewicz; Genowefa Kuzmierek; Aleksander Kusnierz; Antoni Kwiatkowski; Artur Kwiatkowski;

Jerzy Lelentaj; Maciej Kubczynski; Jan Labecki; Witold Lasich; Stanislaw Lowicki; Edward Lukasik;

Marian Maj; Zofia Makowska; Mieczyslaw Maksymowicz; Jan Malanowski; Witold Malinowski; Jerzy Maniawski; Alina Marciniak; Marian Marek; Zbigniew Messner; Edmund Michalik; Stanislaw Michalski; Zbigniew Michalek; Jan Mikulski; Miroslaw Mirecki; Kazimierz Miniur; Jozef Mitak; Lech Mlynarczyk; Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak; Marek Muzyczek; Eugeniusz Mroz; Jerzy Nastalczyk;

Stanislaw Nastal; Jozef Niewiadomski; Jadwiga Nowakowska; Jozef Obarowski; Stefan Olszowski; Stanislaw Opalko; Andrzej Ornat; Marian Orzechowski; Jan Osuch; Marian Otawa;

Marek Pabian; Aleksander Pajko; Ludwik Palancewicz; Stefan Paterek; Gizela Pawlowska; Kazimierz Pieczajko; Tadeusz Pisarski; Henryk Plocha; Tadeusz Porebski;

Mieczyslaw Rakowski; Jozef Rekowski; Jerzy Romanik; Czeslawa Romanowska; Antoni Rosinski; Feliks Rozanski; Jozef Szerwinski;

Jeremiasz Sibek; Albin Siwak; Florian Siwicki; Jerzy Skalski; Kazimierz Skwara; Stanislaw Slawek; Jozef Smolarz; Walerian Solinski; Kazimierz Stec; Czeslaw Stepien; Stanislaw Stolarz; Andrzej Styczynski; Tedoro Subelok; Benedykt Suchecki; Jan Supleta; Daniel Swedziol; Zbigiew Szatkowski; Kazimierz Szetelak; Romuald Szwegler; Daniel Szyszka;

Miczal Tarczynski; Jozef Tomczyk; Jerzy Trzesniewski; Jozef Urbanowicz;

Tadeusz Walignowski; Stefan Walter; Stanislaw Weglinski; Jerzy Widuch; Zofia Witczynska; Jan Witek; Tadeusz Witoslawski; Jerzy Wojtecki; Jan Wozniak; Marian Wozniak; Michal Wozny; Antoni Wrobel; Tadeusz Wysocki; Ryszard Zima; Jozef Zielinski; Michal Rola-Zymierski.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have read out a full list of the 200 members of the PZPR Central Committee.

The returning commission states that the following comrades have been elected candidate members of the party Central Committee: Stanislawa Antoszewska; Stanislaw Baran; Marek Bartosik; Janusz Basiak; Tadeusz Bawarski; Ryszard Borowski; Jozef Brozek; Janusz Bucko; Andrzej Buszowski;

Zbigniew Charczuk; Jan Czechowski; Henryk Dabrowski; Jadwiga Dewicka; Boleslaw Fajon; Jozef Gajewicz; Teresa Gawedzka; Stanislaw Habczyk;

Eugeniusz Jakubaszek; Janusz Jancewski; Ludwik Janczyszyn; Wladyslaw Jonkisz; Adan Jozdzyk; Zbigniew Kamecki; Mieczyslaw Kaminski; Stefan Kapczynski; Andrzej Kazmierkiewicz; Jan Kolodziejczk; Zbginiew Kowalski; Zbigniew Krupinski;

Wincenty Laszczak; Jozef Lencewicz; Kazimierz Lewandowski; Jozef Majcher; Adam Maderek; Wlodzimierz Michaluk; Karol Mokijewski; Eugeniusz Molczyk; Jerzy Niemiec; Zbigniew Nowak;

Mieczyslaw Obiedzinski; Kazimierz Ochocki; Leszek Ogieglo; Henryk Piechota; Jan Plucinczak; Jerzy Prusiecki; Kazimiera Przeworczyk; Barbara Rogola;

Marek Sapinski; Jerzy Slominski; Mieczyslaw Sopkiewicz; Zofia Stepien; Czeslaw Stopinski; Tadeusz Szczepaniak; Antoni Szypis; Waldemar Swirgon; Wanda Switalska;

Zdzislaw Tokarski; Tadeusz Tuczacki; Jozef Tyszkiewicz; Zdzislaw Wasnowski; Andrzej Wietrzykowski; Jan Wit; Kazimierz Wojciechowski; Henryk Wojtal; Jozef Woloch; Mieczyslaw Wojcik; Kazimierz Wrzosek; Stanislaw Zaczkowski; Jerzy Zieba; Zenodia Zorawska.

That was the list of the 70 candidate members of the party Central Committee.

Changes in Leadership Noted

LD171932 Warsaw PAP in English 1940 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Jul (PAP)--The congress press spokesman, Wieslaw Bek, met with journalists during the evening break. He reports the results of elections to the central party authorities. He confirmed Stanislaw Kania's, Wojciech Jaruzelski's, Kazimierz Barcikowski's and Stefan Olszowski's election to the PUWP CC.

Bek said it is hard to give an in-depth analysis of the election results but it can be concluded there will be a much larger percentage of working-class and farmer representatives in the PUWP authorities than before.

The central party authorities were chosen in the first ballot. Bek said five former Political Bureau members were not elected to the new Central Committee. They are Henryk Jablonski, Mieczyslaw Jagielski, Miezhyslaw Moczar, Andrzej Zabinski, Tadeusz Grabski.

Tadeusz Fiszbach, Roman Ney and Wladyslaw Kruk are three alternate members of the Politburo dropped from the Central Committee. The same goes for former CC Secretaries Kazimierz Cypryniak and Zdzislaw Kurowski, and member of the Secretariat Stanislaw Gabrielski.

Other losers are Warsaw and Krakow party First Secretaries Stanislaw Kociolek and Krystyn Dabrowa.

The plenary debate will start today and the working groups will be in session from morning till about noon tomorrow.

Bek Views Changes

LD172222 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2110 GMT 17 Jul 81

[PZPR Congress press spokesman Wieslaw Bek with unidentified correspondent in Warsaw on 17 July--recorded]

[Text] [Bek] Today, during the closed session of the congress, the chairman of the returns commission announced the results of the elections to the Central Committee, the Central Auditing Commission and the party Central Control Commission.

[Question] Did the congress elect these bodies in the first round of voting?

[Answer] Yes, all these authorities were elected in the first round of voting.

[Question] Everybody is no doubt interested in the question of who from among the former party authorities was reelected to the Central Committee, or to be more precise, who from the former Central Committee was reelected.

[Answer] Well, those elected include Stanislaw Kania, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Kazimierz Barcikowski and Stefan Olszowski. Fuller analysis of the electoral list of the elected Central Committee will take place later.

[Question] Are we really not going to hear any more information about the elections? For instance, we all worried that there were too few workers standing as candidates to the party authorities. How was this matter resolved in the end?

[Answer] I think, having analyzed the list of the elected Central Committee that the balance has improved favorably. In the newly elected authorities, and mostly in the new Central Committee, there are quite a few workers.

[Question] Has the congress agenda been changed as a result of the closed session?

[Answer] Yes, it was decided to hold a plenary session after the break. A plenary debate will continue, and the problem teams will resume their work tomorrow morning.

[Question] In connection with this, what is the envisaged deadline for ending the congress?

[Answer] I cannot answer this question, but we know for sure that the congress will not complete its business tomorrow.

Composition by Profession

LD181838 Warsaw PAP in English 1414 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Jul (PAP)--The Central Committee elected during the 9th PUWP Congress includes: 80 workers (up to foremen); 28 farmers; 13 first secretaries of factory committees; 11 technical specialists; 9 professors; 8 first secretaries of voivodship committees; 8 doctors; 6 teachers; 6 directors and deputy directors of industrial, construction and farming enterprises; 6 army officers, 5 ministers (?and deputy) ministers; 5 old-age pensioners; 2 farm hands; 2 CC secretaries from previous CC; CC first secretary of previous term; a premier; one deputy premier (journalist by profession); a journalist; an actor; a chief forester; a seaman; head of the ZHP Polish Pathfinders' Union; a ZHP activist.

Composition by Voivodships

LD181845 Warsaw PAP in English 1416 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Jul (PAP)--The composition of the newly elected PUWP CC by voivodship party organizations is the following: Katowice--27 members; Warsaw--16; Lodz--9; Krakow, Opole and Poznan--7 each; Kielce, Wroclaw and Lublin--5 each; Zielona Gora, Gdansk, Olsztyn, Walbrzych and Bydgoszcz--4 members of the CC each; Czestochowa, Gorzow, Koszalin, Piotrkow, Jelenia Gora, Siedlce, Suwalki, Szczecin, Elblag and Bielski-Biala--3 each; Slupsk, Torun, Skierniewice, Sieradz, Zamosc, Wloclawek, Plock, Rzeszow, Pila, Kalisz, Tarnow, Radom, Nowy Sacz, Legnica, Krosno, Bialystok, Leszno and Tarnobrzeg--2 each; Przemsyl, Konin, Biala Podlaska, Ciechanow, Lomza and Chelm--1 member of the CC each. PUWP voivodship organization in Ostroleka is the only one without a representation in the Central Committee.

The above figures are not inclusive of Polish Army officers and top level party activists.

Party Control Commission List

LD172010 Warsaw PAP in English 1844 GMT 17 Jul 81

["Members of Central Commission for Party Control"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Jul (PAP)--Ryszard Adamczyk; Jozef Antoniak; Czeslaw Bajko; Marian Baluka; Feliks Baranowski; Kazimierz Basinski; Henryk Bakowski; Wladyslaw Beben; Tadeusz Chotkowski; Wladyslaw Ciaston; Tadeusz Czechowicz; Stefan Derengowski; Waclaw Dobrzanski; Augustyn Drozdz; Jozef Drozdziel; Leszek Dutkiewicz; Wieslaw Gemza; Edwin Gojzewski; Alojzy Gorzawski; Stanislaw Grabania; Marian Jagiello; Wladyslaw Jaron; Zdzislaw Jurczyk; Jozef Kabacinski; Andrzej Karwalski; Stefan Kepiak; Zenon Klemenczak; Jan Klopotowski; [Name indistinct]; Henryk Kondas; Franciszek Korczewski; Ryszard Kordasiewicz; Jan Korybski; Krystyna Kostro; Alred Kostrzewa; Grazyna Kotnowska; Mieczyslawa Lec; Lucjan Legodzinski; Stefan Lewandowski; Tadeusz Lipiec; Tadeusz Lipowski; Halina Lawnicz; Longini Lowicki [as received]; Aleksander Luckos;

Jerzy [name indistinct]; Kazimierz Maszerowski; Jan Matuszewski; Aleksander Michalak; Mieczyslaw Michalik; Wladyslaw Michalus; Tadeusz Mikolajczyk; Ryszard Milczarek; Edmund Modrzyk; Stanislaw Morawski; Bogdan Nalezyty; Tadeusz Nowicki; Ryszard Olejniczak; Zygmunt Olejniczak; Elzbieta Pawlowicz; Wojciech Pawlowski; Henryk Piekarczyk; Tadeusz Przychzien; Franciszek Rejchman; Stanislaw Roczniak; Leszek Sedlewski; Bronislaw Sitko; Ryszard Stanislawek; Krzysztof Sopala; Aleksander Swierczynski; Jan Szczepaniak; Kazimierz Szmajdzinski; Nobert Sznajder; Jerzy Suzymanik; Andrzej Tochowicz; Stanislaw Tomaszkiewicz; Julian Turko; Jerzy Urbanski; Czeslaw Waniek; Mieczyslaw Wielgasiak; Wlodzimierz Wieclawek; Jan Wisniewski; Stanislaw Woloszyn; Marian Wojcek; Henryk Wykurz; Stanislaw Wziatek; Zenon Zapala; Jan Zielinski; Zygmunt Zielinski; Jan Zbikowski.

Central Auditing Commission

LD172010 Warsaw PAP in English 1915 GMT 17 Jul 81

["Members of PUWP Central Audit Commission"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Jul (PAP)--Tomasz Afeltowicz; Adam Balabuch; Wojciech Baranski; Stanislaw Blezien; Ignacy Borkiewicz; Stanislawa Brewinska; Zenon Brysk; Daniela Buczkowska; Adam Butynski; Jan Ciesielski; Krystyna Chrobak; Edward Chwesiuk; Sylvester Czaplicki; Wanda Dabrowska; Henryk Dobrowolski; Eugeniusz Dobrzynski; Jan Dubielak; Helena Dziewolska; Tadeusz Ferc; Antoni Galecki; Jan Gawel; Zbigniew Gruntmeyer; Leonard Grymel; Roman Halczkiewicz; Wladyslaw Honkisz; Dominik Horodynski; Mieczyslaw Ingielowicz; Wanda Janczo; Mariusz Jedrzejko; Waldemar Kaczor; Jan Kaczuba; Jerzy Kaczybura; Anatol Karpinski; Aleksander Kasprzak; Jerzy Kestowicz; Krzybztof Kondracki; Genowefa Krajewska; Gerard Krajniewski; Tadeusz Krepski; Zbigniew Krezalowski; Wieslaw Krupski; Barbara Kubacka; Zdzislaw Kurek; Stanislaw Lachowich; Kazimierz Laszczynski; Edward Lyczko; Marian Maciaszek; Stanislaw Majchrzak; Ignacy Marianski; Stanislaw Miedziak; Kazimierz Morawski; Teodor Muszalski; Grzegorz Opara; Jerzy Perkowski; Jan Rzeminski; Bozena Sikora; Cecylia Sikorska; Jan Skarbowski; Stanislaw Skinderowicz; Waclaw Skoczylas; Witold Sroczynski; Maria Stadnicka; Eugeniusz Stepien; Zdziskaw Stepien; Marian Stoklosa; Stanislaw Suszek; Zbigniew Smigielski; Urszula Tomaszewska; Jacek Trojanek; Bronislaw Wilk.

17 July Deliberations End

LD171958 Warsaw PAP in English 1939 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Jul (PAP)--The fourth day of deliberations of the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress ended at 2100 today.

Task groups will resume work tomorrow at 0830 and plenary discussion is to be reopened at 1500. It has been also announced that the newly-elected PUWP Central Committee will convene at the first plenary session tomorrow. Also the newly elected Central Auditing Commission and the Central Party Control Commission will hold their first meetings tomorrow.

CONGRESS PROBLEM TEAM DISCUSSIONS RESUME 18 JULY

Debates, Agenda Reported

LD181130 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Here is the latest news from the congress:

This morning, debate resumed among the 16 problem teams of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. The most important problems of the party's activity and of the political and economic life of the country are being discussed. Invited guests, eminent theoreticians and practicioners from various spheres are taking part in these debates.

In the second Problem Team, where debate is devoted to the role of the PZPR statute in the party's activity, discussion continues on formulating the final version of the new party statute. The introduction of such paragraphs in the statute which will ensure Leninist norms of the party's functioning and which will create barriers preventing political errors and the abuse of authority are the guidelines for the group's work. The proposed changes and additions to the draft new party membership code, having received the approval of the team members, are passed directly to the Statute Commission appointed by the congress.

The 10th Problem Team is examining problems concerning the development of the countryside, agriculture, and food economy. In a critical but at the same time constructive discussion, private farmers, representatives of the cooperative and state sector, and of institutions serving agriculture are speaking about ways to extract the country from the food crisis. Today's debate is devoted to the formulation of concrete demands, which must be realized by the authorities in the immediate future.

Polish agriculture was also dealt with by one of the first participants in the discussion of the 12th Problem Team, which is dealing with matters related to science and technology. He pointed to the low substantial level of the leading and teaching base of agriculture. It was also emphasized in the group's debates that there are a growing number of graduates from agricultural academies, yet there is a shortage of people who could and wish to direct modern socialized farms.

The Fourth Problem Team's debates are devoted to the role of the press, radio, and television and to party ideological and propaganda work. Referring to the past decade, it was emphasized, inter alia, that many journalists have been opposing the perversion of socialism, and question the absurd propaganda of successes. However, they were not always consistent. The most important matter now is for the press to regain full credibility and social confidence. It was also noted that workers are waiting for a party press that is of interest and which would use the language of working people.

At 1500 the ninth party congress is to resume its plenary session. The first plenary session of the newly elected party Central Auditing and Control Commissions will also debate in their first session.

Report on Congress Teams

LD191152 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Jul (PAP)--The 16 problem teams of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress completed their work on 18 July. During the three sessions, addressed by 790 delegates, problems of party life, economics, society, politics and others were discussed.

Problem Team One was involved with questions of the ideological and organizational unity of the PZPR, the leading role of the party in the struggle for (?socialist) renewal.

On the third day of the debates, the participants in this group discussed two basic problems common to the whole course of the work. The first of them was the group of questions involving internal party life, taking into particular account the factors uniting the party. The second group, which remained closely linked to the first and even arose out of it, was the polemical attempt [words indistinct]: How should the party implement its (?leading) role in society, and how should it restore and strengthen public trust in the party, its members and its program?

Demands were put forward not to arouse antagonism within the party, particularly today when its unity is coming under threat. It is essential to discuss sincerely, to exchange opinions, and in this way to agree on positions.

As for [word indistinct] speeches on the theme of how the party fulfills its leading role, the delegates spoke a lot about the party apparatus at all levels. Recently, it has been the subject of sharp criticism, and it must be freed from administrative and bureaucratic methods of action.

The participants in the problem team regard as one of the reasons for the internal party crises, which are repeated every few years or every 10 years, the leadership's deviation from control of the wide masses of the party membership and the formation of a cult around the current first secretary which is not criticized in any way. An end must be put to this practice.

Problem Team Two was occupied with the role of the PZPR in the activity of the party.

Ensuring the Leninist norms of the functioning of the party, creating effective barriers to prevent political errors and abuses, and also defining the role of the party as the leading role in society, are the main tasks of the PZPR charter, the discussions of Problem Team Two noted [words indistinct] it was stressed that the charter must accurately define the orientations of patriotic education, ideological and cosmological problems, including the attitude to believers.

Stressing the significance of the charter, both for the party itself and for political relations in Poland as a whole, the delegates also commented on the theme of the changes and corrections to the new draft charter which have been submitted. The participants agreed in particular on their position on the questions of formulas regulating the principles of party memberships, the rights and duties of PZPR members, the essence of democratic centralism, and also the place of the party in the system of socialist democracy.

Problem Team Three, which was working on problems of socialist democracy and self-management, put forward more than 100 proposals. They concerned, among other things, increasing the influence of the Sejm on questions of planning and the budget, the general restructuring of control in the state, working out a new tenet on elections and the relevant consultation of candidates for the Sejm and the People's Councils, and also raising their responsibility to the electors. The opinion was expressed that it would be useful to turn the Front of National Unity into a forum for nationwide discussion of draft decisions of important social questions, and (?for it to take on) the role of political guarantor for the implementation of the programs adopted and the agreements signed. A number of decisions were put forward aimed at strengthening the institutional guarantees of legality and public trust in state organs, apply [word indistinct].

Problem Team Four, which has been dealing with issues concerning the press, radio and television, stressed that openness of party life, as well as wide and honest information, are the most important issues today. They also serve to restore trust in the press. The party press must be a platform for the party's discussion, and it must fulfill inspiring, educative and control functions. The basic question is the honesty of the information and the sense of responsibility of party journalists for the party and for socialism.

The party press must be drawn more widely into the struggle against the enemies of our system. With the aim of improving the activities of the mass media, the participants in the discussion suggested the setting up--at Central Committee level--a group fo consultants which would be composed of scientists and prominent party figures. It is indispensable to create within the Central Committee a single leading center for working out the strategy of propaganda.

Problem Team Five dealt with the problems of the young generation. The main duty of the party is to map out a realistic perspective of the development of the young generation, to create the conditions for its full participation in social and political life, and to restore the faith of the young generation in the truthfulness and honesty of the aims and programs proclaimed and carried out by the party. The socialist youth organizations must play a subjective [sub'yektijnyy] [as received] role in drafting and carrying out the program of educating the youth.

Problem Team Six dealt with economic policy and the propositions of an economic reform. An indispensable condition of normalization of the economy lies in economic reform. Its rapid and smooth implementation can contribute to accelerating the overcoming of the crisis. The present draft is recognized as more mature than the previous proposals. With full understanding, the proposals contained in the government's program for overcoming the crisis and the stabilization of the economy were adopted. The necessity of carrying out a reform of prices, closely linked with a system of corresponding compensations was pointed out.

Further on Congress Teams

LD191212 Warsaw PAP in English 1537 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Jul (PAP)--The 16 task groups called into being by the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PUWP today concluded their marathon deliberations which constitute an essential and inseparable part of the congress.

In the debate, which covered three rounds of sessions last Thursday, Friday and Saturday, a few hundred delegates and invited guests, among whom were political and economic activists, scientists, teachers, doctors and artists, took the floor.

Group One--ideological and organizational unity of the PUWP, the PUWP's leading role in the struggle for socialist renewal:

The speakers flatly demanded that no antagonisms within the party should be stirred up, especially today when its unity is threatened. An honest discussion, exchange of view is a must and this is the way of working out joint standpoints. It was pointed up that the party apparatus of all levels has come under sharp criticism of late and that it must extricate itself from the administrative bureaucratic methods of action. Members of the group opined that one of the causes of repeated [passage indistinct].

Task Group Seven, Development of market production, directions of balancing the market:

It will be difficult for the party to regain influence on the socio-political processes without bringing the market (?under) control. A reconstruction of price relations has been found necessary and urgent. However, the main sources for improvement lie in the changes in the structure of (?economy) [word indistinct] the aim is to increase the share of market production. The basic task for today is to ensure indispensable supplies of staple goods, especially foodstuffs, cigarettes, soap, washing powders and other [word indistinct]. Delegates (?criticized an uncontrolled) expansion of rationing system. The introduction of an economic reform should above all make our economy market-oriented.

Task Group Eight. Task Group Eight for international policy and economic cooperation with abroad:

Participants in the debates stressed that the foundations of our policy are friendship, cooperation and alliance with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist states basing on the principles of [words indistinct] and proletarian internationalism, striving for a consistent implementation [words indistinct] for the country wants to make its contribution to the saving of the now endangered process of detente and its intensification. We are granting full support to the Soviet peace initiatives submitted at the 26th CPSU Congress, as they agree with the vital interests of our party and all of the Polish nation.

It is necessary that the political dialogue with the West be continued so that a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe (?can be) successfully held in Warsaw.

The (?issues) international policy and economic cooperation with abroad are organically [words indistinct] exert a mutual [word indistinct]. It was stressed that the crisis which had affected the internal life of Poland has not changed (?the ideological groundwork) and political goals which stem from the foundation of our system, our unshakeable place in the Warsaw Treaty system and our partnership-based cooperation with the CEMA.

It was demanded that Poland's foreign trade should be rationalized and the public should be informed about its operation. Drafts of major foreign trade contracts should be presented to the Sejm.

It is indispensible that the truth about socialist renewal in Poland be propagated abroad more vigorously.

Task Group Nine. Task Group Nine for materials and fuels economy:

The resolution of the group stressed the need for a rational utilization of materials and fuels. Next in importance is the development of their production base and an increase of production.

Much attention was paid to the issues of stepping up the extraction of hard coal. It is demanded that the construction of mines in the Lublin coal basin be continued and that the price of coal be possibly (?early) made realistic. The resolution indicates the need to concentrate efforts on the construction of the Belchatow [words indistinct].

Task Group Ten. Task Group Ten for the countryside, agriculture and food economy.

The group, consisting of nearly [word indistinct] delegates, voiced unanimous views that an increase in food production and an improvement of food [words indistinct] the nation, the most important tasks now and in the future, are feasibly [passage indistinct].

Task Group Eleven, for education and national culture:

In consequence of many years of neglect and insufficient expenditure, education and culture are (?facing) huge difficulties. Their budgets are the ones most frequently subject to budgetary cuts and economy steps, as an allegedly unproductive sphere of activity. The truth is that both education and culture determine the quality of life, they motivate man to activity. Participants in the task group considered the surmounting of the dramatic situation in the production of books, films and recordings to be among the most pressing tasks in the sphere of the material base of cultural development. Everything possible must be done to break the present crisis in Polish books. School textbooks and compulsory readings must be assigned absolute priority.

Task Group Twelve, for science and technology:

Voicing their disagreement with the solutions offered in the government anti-crisis program as concerns science, participants in the group granted unanimous support to the assumptions contained in the programme report for the congress. The resolution of the team recommends an improvement of the system of state-sponsored, central research ventures.

The group are resolved to propose that the congress appoint [words indistinct] CC commission in order to clarify the issue of wrong licence purchases and to indicate personally who is responsible for them.

Task Group Thirteen, for health care and natural environment:

The resolution adopted by the group stressed most that the most important task of health services is to (?promote) efficient general health care at the place of residence. The extension of health care of mother and child demands special attention. Absolute preference should be given to the construction of health service facilities, the production of indispensable medicines, medical equipment and sanitary materials. A further devastation of natural environment is a real threat to the nation's biological existence. It was suggested that a general rule be introduced that the immediate perpatrator is liable [words indistinct] environmental pollution and removes its consequences.

Task Group Fourteen, for party-trade unions relations:

The pivot of the discussion was the attitude of the party members to the work and programme of Solidarity as well as perspectives and chances of restablishing partnership-based relations on all levels between party organizations and authorities and trade unions. Agreeing with those participants in the discussion who spoke about good collaboration with Solidarity at factories, chairman of the discussion Mieczyslaw Rakowski said that it is much more difficult to collaborate with union authorities on the regional or central level. On this level this trend within the union which has political aspirations often with a clearly anti-communist tint is more prominent. The resolution of the group recognizes the trade unions to be an important link in the functioning of socialist democracy. The party proclaims good-will and an attitude of partnership to the whole trade unions movement, which should act in accordance with the Constitution of People's Poland and the union statutes, and in the future also with the trade unions law.

Task Group Fifteen, problems of social policy--family, social benefits and housing policy:

Work requiring identical qualifications and intensity, performed in similar conditions, should be equally paid independent of the sector of economy. The combined income from work (?exceeding) the level of trebled average pay should be subject to an equalization tax. A possibility of voluntary retirement should be (?offered to) women after 30 years of work and for men with 35 years of work behind them, regardless of age. Paid leaves for care of children should be gradually extended up to the moment the child is three years old. The delegates postulated to earmark for housing at least 30 per cent of national investment outlays.

Task Group Sixteen, PUWP cadres policy:

Members of the group stressed the urgent need to work out a new system of cadre policy that would be coherent and based on clear-cut criteria and socially acceptable. The conception of such policies would be closely connected with the directions and aims of the economic reform. The delegates suggested to set up a special commission at the Central Committee the task of which would be to work out the principles of cadre policy of the party and present them at a special CC plenary meeting. The social basis should be extended [passage indistinct] which they have desirable professional and political predisposition and moral values.

NEWLY ELECTED CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONVENES PLENUM

Jaruzelski Chairs Plenum

LD181648 Warsaw PAP in English 1410 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Jul (PAP)--The Central Committee newly elected by the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress convened in a plenary session at 2 p.m. at the Palace of Culture here.

Present are 200 CC members and 70 alternate members.

The congress Presidium authorized Wojciech Jaruzelski to chair the plenum. Wojciech Jaruzelski congratulated CC members and alternate members on their election to the posts. He subsequently presented the agenda of the plenum, which is to comprise the drawing up of a list of candidates for the post of CC first secretary and the determining of the number of members of the Political Bureau and the CC Secretariat. He said that the proposals offered by the Plenum will be subject to a final endorsement by the congress.

Jaruzelski submitted the candidature of Stanislaw Kania to the post of CC first secretary and provided the characteristics of his person. More candidatures for the post are being submitted and characterized.

Kania, Barcikowski Nominations

LD181650 Warsaw PAP in English 1407 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Jul (PAP)--The first plenary session of the PUWP CC resolved to submit to the 9th congress two candidates for the post of CC first secretary: Stanislaw Kania and Kazimierz Barcikowski.

Olszowski, Rakowski Decline

LD181654 Warsaw PAP in English 1437 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Jul (PAP)--The candidatures of Stefan Olszowski and Mieczyslaw Rakowski for CC first secretary were proposed during the 1st CC plenum. However, both refused to run in the elections, motivating [as received] their decisions and thanking for the trust placed in them.

Plenum Ends

LD181656 Warsaw PAP in English 1438 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Jul (PAP)--The 1st CC Plenum unanimously resolved that the CC Political Bureau should consist of 12 to 19 members and from 2 to 5 alternate members and that the Secretariat should consist of 7 to 11 people. The 1st PUWP CC plenum thus came to an end.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON 18 JULY CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

Closed Session Resumes

LD181810 Warsaw PAP in English 1536 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Jul (PAP)--At 1700 hours, the PUWP Congress resumed its debates behind the closed doors. The congress is to approve of the candidates for the first secretary of the PUWP CC, proposed at the first plenary meeting of the new Central Committee, and to agree the number of the members of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

Congress Endorses Candidacies

LD181815 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Excerpts] Warsaw--The first plenary session of the newly elected Central Committee and the designation of candidacies for the first secretary of the Central Committee constituted the most important events today at the ninth congress.

The session in Camera is still in progress but is coming to an end now. A last minute piece of news: The congress endorsed during voting the candidacies of Comrades Stanislaw Kania and Kazimierz Barcikowski for the post of first secretary of the Central Committee, with seven abstentions. There were no votes against.

Fiszbach Addresses Congress

LD181834 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1607 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Speech by Tadeusz Fiszbach, first secretary of Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee, at 18 July plenary session of Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades. This congress, the extraordinary congress, has an exceptionally important role to fulfill. The hopes connected with it are concentrated on our main current problem--the reversal of the humiliating socioeconomic crisis, economic recession and the people's poverty. A clear definition of what we ought to do to put the country on its feetand to create structural guarantees preventing crises, will constitute a measure of the party's ability to lead the nation in the near and distant future. This requires reference to the causes of the former crises, because conclusions emerge from them which are significant for the building of socialism in Poland. It is essential to show the party honestly its own most recent history, including the truth about the December 1970 events on the coast, so that nothing from our past can cast a shadow on the future.

The Gdansk party organization, having experienced so much since the beginning of the August crisis, proclaimed itself in favor of solving the crisis by political means. We were aware of the national character of the protest and we were deeply convinced that the PZPR, the Marxist-Leninist party, must solve this conflict exclusively by political means. We said at the time that correct relations between the authorities and the community cannot be created in the absence of respect for the historic experiences of the Polish nation, its aspirations and work. In presenting this point of view--to which there is no sensible alternative--we had the active and effective support of some Politburo members, including Comrades Stanislaw Kania and Wojciech Jaruzelski. I want to recall and emphasize this from this tribune today.

The political settlement of the August conflict is an historic achievement of our party and evidence of the maturity of the working class. We have jointly created a great opportunity for a true and irreversible renewal of our socialist homeland and for a permanent cure of the chosen political system. We know how difficult it is to do this, how much tension it creates, how much the evil accumulated over the years mounts up before us. And although we are experiencing this process with difficulty, although it creates many threats, it also gives the hope that there is no return now to the errors and deformations of the past.

Everything that can fill this chapter by practical action is, therefore, of enormous significance. In the precongress debate the party unambiguously confirmed its will to continue the line of accord and improve the partnership between the authorities and the community. This position has, however, remained just an intention for too long, and has not produced the expected results at the level of the whole state, the economy and public affairs.

One must say that as a governing party we are not without fault here. Many of our actions were forced, delayed or halfhearted and as such did not meet the expectations of the community. The preparation of new laws is going very slowly. The principle of social consultations is not infrequently made too formal, but it must also be stated that the delays and difficulties are not just our fault. The newly born trade union movement does not make it easier for us to do our work. Solidarity grew out of the protest against the deformations of socialism. It is acting under conditions in which negation dominates over the constructive proposals and a profound crisis makes a speedy solution to social problems impossible. People who have different political positions take advantage of this. Among such people are the enemies of our system, who not only openly criticize the mechanisms of the system but also struggle against the principles and aims of socialism. In a foolish way, and often in a way that threatens national interests, they cause the tension to escalate and they make the strikes more acute and bitter. They block the initiatives of the authorities, they spread hostile propaganda at home and abroad, they agitate against the party and its leading role.

This state of affairs constitutes a serious threat to the line of accord and makes the enemies of accord more active, as well as undermining the arguments of those who support the line of accord. It makes the efforts to overcome the crisis ineffective. In this lies the main but removable reason for concern, for the destabilization of life, for doubts about the possibility of overcoming the difficulties and for the delays in solving the current problems.

So far we have been unable to free production activity and the painful results of this are felt by all. The people's creative energy has been engaged in wasteful discussions, arguments over apparent rights and in demonstrating resistance. Conditions for the growth of new conflicts and even hostility have prevailed. I say this, guided by concern for the achievement of social accord and socialist renewal, for further development of a dialogue between the authorities and the community, for the fulfillment of hopes of the working people thinking about the future. I also say this convinced that the implementation of the line of accord, which now is the most important condition for social peace and for Poland's independence, cannot be lasting if a line of conflicts and tensions runs alongside.

Under these circumstances the line of accord is becoming an empty slogan, a mere declaration of intentions from which no concrete values and political results emerge to act as the driving force in solving our difficult affairs. The partnership between the authorities and the community demand care, particularly good will and patience by all. It also demands trust, understanding, and respect for each other's responsibiliites and rights. Without such an approach to the partnership, we will not be able to free ourselves from the bonds of impossibility, we will not be able to break the accursed circle of stagnation, and we will not overcome the crisis and its damaging consequences. This would lead the country to the greatest danger.

The point is that the entire party should fully realize the effects, as should Solidarity and other social organizations, so that we can jointly form the front of commonsense and responsibility. We must do everything necessary to ensure that well-known examples in history of the lack of national accord between Poles and never repeated.

With this in mind, in August 1980 I placed my signature on the Gdansk accord. Today, after nearly 11 months, the hopes we held then have not yet been realized in social results. Thus, the question: Where is the cause of this state of affairs? The reply must be clear and hence self-critical. The negligible results of our efforts are due to the failure of the party, particularly its leading links at all levels, to draw practical conclusions from the political and economic source of the continuing crisis.

We have wasted too much time defending positions which were quite simply indefensible and the defense of which often was not necessary. We wasted too much energy on fruitless bargaining. We assumed too easily that tactics which were either less or more skillful were capable of restricting or even minimizing the categorical nature of social aspirations and expectations. This is the cause of the slowness of introducing internal party democracy and of defining the role of the trade unions in the system of national political development. The difficulties in implementing the line of social accord derive to a great extent from the prejudices and misunderstandings surrounding both these matters.

Meanwhile, an historical union is taking place between democracy in the party and the independence of the trade union organization of the working class. In the long run neither of these important factors can function independently without interdependence. Consequently, the nature of the controlling role of the trade unions in our sociopolitical system needs to be defined precisely. What relation this role should have to other spheres of their activity should also be explained.

I think the trade unions must be guaranteed the right to participation in the strategic decisions mapping out the priorities of social aims while at the same time recognizing the assumption that their fundamental function is the protection of the interests of working people. The control of strategic decisons by the unions should be of an indirect nature and should take place through representatives in the elected organs of state authority and in workers' and territorial self-government units and through activities which are within the framework of formal procedures governing the formulation of decisions. This must go hand in hand with the renunciation by the trade unions of direct intervention at points of state authority during the implementation of decisions which have already been made.

This treatment of the role of the trade union movement, coupled with the change in relations within the party, will create realistic guarantees for the democratization of the principles and style of government and will also make it possible for our party not only to maintain but even to strengthen its leading function in society. This depends on three conditions: the extent to which the congress supports the policy of socialist renewal; the situation within the trade union movement, shape--to a considerable extent--under the influence of elements supporting permanent confrontation; and the recognition and formal definition of the modernization of the structure of the state, as the best form of socialist development in our situation. The achievement of political credibility by the party will make it able to initiate economic reform effectively, but it is not the party itself that should be making changes in the economic life of the country; the main responsibility of the party to the nation lies in its social policy.

The economic policy, on the other hand, must be the tool which helps the government try to achieve social objectives. Therefore, the party bears political responsibility for implementing the economic reform. It is high time that after many months of discussions and preparations a move be made toward articulating the principles of this reform. Without taking this necessary step quickly, we shall not be able to create the basis from which to launch action aimed at overcoming the crisis.

At the same time, at its first meeting devoted to formal business, the newly elected party Central Committee should, on the basis of a special resolution, make it incumbent on the government to come forward with an initiative of particular importance--for the sake of protecting the lives and health of the people and the elementary everyday facilities in those areas and spheres which are most threatened by the consequences of the crisis. Bread and milk, the essential medical supplies, surgical instruments, articles required for personal hygiene and public health--all these must be supplied to the population at once, regardless of the assessment and origin of funds required for the purpose. We must not delay this any longer because this issue has assumed tragic proportions and has become a political problem. Our most urgent task today is to accelerate this slow process of overcoming the evil that surrounds us.

A change of faulty assumptions which divorce the party from the society and its leadership from the masses of members is of particularly great importance in this respect. It is obvious that from Marxism-Leninism we derive creative ideas and methods of action and from the experience of building socialism in the fraternal countries we should take over all that has been confirmed by practical work and can serve well the progress of public affairs in Poland. Against this background, once more and with great vigor, is seen the friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, the significance of which includes the fundamental reasons of our national existence.

Our congress must create a political program to overcome the crisis and open the way to national development, in line with the aspirations of the nation. The outlines of this program emerged during the precongress discussion and for the last few days have been undergoing a process of crystallization during the congress proceedings.

This task must be tackled by the whole party, the awakened and consolidating organizations of the PZPR, which are regaining their rightful place in the whole framework of party life.

It will not be possible, however, to regain public trust by means of a program alone, even if it is the best program possible: It can be achieved through the implementation of that program and the proof that it is the right program. High priority must be given to reducing the extent of crisis phenomena by concentrating the efforts of the state on the elimination of shortages, especially those that most affect the population.

We cannot expect that after the congress we shall no longer have to face a multitude of difficult problems. Instead we should, week after week, year after year, strive to achieve an improvement in the state of the national economy and in the functioning of the state authority so that people in Poland can see that their way of life is improving and can see convincing proof that the action of the party means action in the name of the nation and for its good. Only on this condition can we shoulder the historic responsibility which is resting upon us. [applause]

Gomulka Letter Not Received

LD181632 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1545 GMT 18 Jul 81

[From the "Congress Studio" program]

[Excerpt] One statement, one piece of information, two communiques. The statement: The Secretariat of the congress states that neither the congress Presidium nor the Secretariat has received a letter from Comrade Wladyslaw Gomulka.

Closed Session Ends

LD181820 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1740 GMT 18 Jul 81

[From the "Congress Studio" program]

[Excerpt] The closed session of the congress, which was in progress since 1700, has ended.

Closed Session Resumed

LD181902 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1846 GMT 18 Jul 81

[From the "Congress Studio" program]

[Excerpt] After a break the ninth congress resumed debates behind closed doors a few minutes ago.

First Secretary Voting Begins

LD181918 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Excerpt] After an interval, at approximately 2030, a closed session of the congress was resumed. The delegates heard information supplied by chairman of the Election Results Commission Jerzy Krzywik concerning the principles of the election for the post of first secretary of the party Central Committee. The candidate who receives more than 50 percent of valid votes in a secret ballot will be the winner. The voting began, and the Election Results Commission has begun its work in the hall.

Voting Ends

LD182000 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1930 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Excerpts] Voting has ended in the elections for the first secretary of the party Central Committee in the forum of the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress. The candidate to be elected to the post of first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee will be the candidate who receives more than 50 percent of the valid votes in a secret ballot. At present there is a break in the deliberations. It has been promised that they will be resumed at 2200. The results of the elections to the post of first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee perhaps will be announced then. The Returning Commission has begun counting the votes.

Details of Voting

LD182050 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2014 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Announcement by Jerzy Krzywik, Chairman of the Election Results Commission, at the PZPR Congress--live]

[Text] Esteemed delegates: On behalf of the Election Results Commission it is my honor to announce the results of the voting for the post of first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The Election Results Commission states that at the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress there are 1,955 delegates present. Some 1,944 delegates took part in the voting for the first secretary of the Central Committee. There were 1,939 valid votes and 5 invalid votes. Eleven people did not vote. The following candidates received the following votes for the post of first secretary of the Central Committee:

Kazimierz Barcikowski--568 votes [prolonged applause]

Stanislaw Kania--1,311 votes [prolonged stormy applause]

Sixty votes were cast against both candidates and two crossed the names out. The Election Results Commission states that Comrade Stanislaw Kania has been elected first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee at the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress. [applause]

Cordial congratulations. [prolonged applause]

Kania Reelection Speech

LD182140 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2027 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Speech by First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Stanislaw Kania upon his reelection at the 18 July plenary session of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] Dear comrade delegates, a moment ago the result of the elections to the post of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party was announced.

I am to perform this function in the coming years. This is a very weighty decision, of great responsibility, especially for you. You have made a choice--the correctness of which time will tell. In this sense this act has been one of great responsibility and it has been written down on your account. For me this is an act of great trust. At the same time it places upon me tremendous obligations because the burden is great, the burden of this function which you have entrusted to me a moment ago. I thank you cordially for this trust. [applause]

In this trust I see an attitude toward the line--of which I have been one cocreator, one of those who implemented it--of socialist renewal, of accord, of a struggle for the defense of the principles of socialism. Rest assured that I shall remain faithful to this line. There is in this act a great obligation for me to stand up and meet those expectations which are connected with the post of the first secretary.

Ten months ago, over 10 months ago, when by the will of the Central Committee I was assuming the post of party secretary I declared that in the course of my long membership of the party I never realized that People's Poland, that my party would face such complicated problems as is the case today. Even more so I never realized that I should come to head the party. I had been its soldier from the first days of freedom, a soldier of the resistance movement, but I never thought, never dreamt about any leadership posts, because dreams were not measured by this. Today I understand still more deeply those words uttered 10 months ago. I feel the weight of this post even more than I did at the time because the situation of the country brings this home.

At the Central Committee plenum at that time it was said that this highest echelon between congresses appoints the leader. I have stated that I do not wish to be a leader, not only due to my parameters, but also due to the fact that then, and today I am not sure that our party needs something called leader. I support the view that the first secretary, in this case it is my lot to perform the function, should be first of all an organizer of the collective wisdom of the Central Committee -- it is a great force, the beginning of the premise for the operation of collective wisdom in the whole country. I wish to serve it faithfully. [applause]

I am even more convinced of my ideas spoken then. I know that from the party leader, or perhaps from the organizer of the Central Committee's work, and such should be the first secretary, various attributes are demanded. I am convinced that those demands will grow as the discussion before the election of the first secretary demonstrated. It is correct that courage and firmness is required, but it is demanded from courage and modesty that the first secretary should never forget that he is also a man, that he must be a man. I will not forget that I come, as the majority of people in this hall, from simple people, from working people, and it is demanded that the first secretary should not forget that he is the first, but first among equals.

Another character trait is required: I am convinced that it is necessary for the secretary -- secretary of every level, including the secretary of the Central Committee -- to have faith in the party, its possibility, its indestructible strength, simply the faith of peopl in man.

You cannot be an activist without that. And this must derive from the fact that we are those who serve ordinary people, the working people. It also follows from the fact that reason is on our side -- both the historic reason which has brought about a situation in which our party has submitted a program of national and social liberation, a program which has proved victorious in implementation--and because our party today has not only the historic right but also a great moral right to play the leading role.

We are not concealing the mistakes committed at all levels; we are doing everything in our power to eliminate them. With a real passion we react to all wrongs in our life, including within our own ranks. This also gives us the moral right to lead. We have mapped out the program of socialist renewal. In conflicts we have perceived the protest of the working class; out of conflicts we have developed an extensive program for the development of socialist democracy, the modernization of our socialist state and the recovery of democracy and Leninist principles in the life of our party.

We are facing complex problems. There are a great many of them. We must restore the undermined trust. We must meet halfway the great torment of millions of Poles who are struggling with daily difficulties, including those connected with market supplies. We must strengthen the leading role of our party. We must regain and consolidate the credibility of our country and of our party among our allies so that nobody in the world has any doubt that Poland is and will be a firm link in the socialist community, that our party is a Marxist-Leninist party and, as I said earlier, also a profoundly Polish party--in view of all its traditions, its services to Poland and in view of the will to overcome the difficulties that not only threaten the people but also endanger both socialism and the independent existence of the country. We shall overcome all these difficulties and in this I see my responsible role and function.

I would like to be the secretary of the whole party, of all its sections, of that most important section which is the foundation of its strength--the workers' section of the party. From the very name of the party it follows that we are serving, above all, the working class. I would like to be secretary of that part of the party which serves the people in rural areas, that section of the party which awakens the inexhaustible resources of our intelligentsia, our youth, simply the secretary of the whole party which serves the Polish nation.

I would like to use everything in my power to build the unity of our entire party in order to make it clear to everyone that we can and ought to go along a straight [path, along the path of socialist renewal, along a line of agreement, along a line of struggle against threats to socialism. I would like together with the Central Committee, to lead the party along such a path--neither to the left nor to the right--but a straight line toward socialist renewal. I thank you for your attention. [applause]

Congress Spokesman Interview

LD182318 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2019 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Unidentified correspondent 18 July interview with PZPR Congress spokesman editor Wieslaw Bek--live or recorded]

[Text] [Question] Comrade editor, I think one element is missing which would give us a full picture of the day--a report on the proceedings of the closed session, the session in which the Central Committee submitted the nominations of both comrades--Comrades Barcikowski and Kania--for first secretary.

[Answer] Yes, perhaps we should start by reminding you of the proceedings of the whole day. I don't know if the television viewers know already that the problem teams completed their work today.

[Question] Comrade editor, we have been conducting congress (?transmissions) since noon and we have carried these reports about the teams.

[Answer] But we now have overall figures. A total of 761 persons took part in the discussion and 570 persons submitted their speeches for the record. Then, as is well known, the first plenary session of the Central Committee took place and finally the closed session of the congress, about which you, Comrade editor, are asking.

At this closed session the chairman, who was Wojciech Jaruzelski again, reported on the proceedings of the first plenary session. As is well known there were two points on the agenda. The first point was to determine the nominations for first secretary. The second, on the other hand, was to determine the numerical composition of the Politburo and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

[Question] Let us recall that on this first point a total of four names were submitted.

[Answer] Four names were submitted on the first point, but Comrades Stefan Olszowski and Mieczyslaw Rakowski dropped out. As a result the plenum recommended, as it were, two names to the congress: Stanislaw Kania and Kazimierz Barcikowski. At precisely this closed session of the congress, discussion centered on the nominations. The delegates asked the candidates questions and the session ended with the adoption by vote of the list of candidates, in other words, Stanislaw Kania and Kazimierz Barcikowski.

[Question] Comrade editor, the session lasted a very long time.

[Answer] Well, the discussion was extensive, too. After all, this is a kind of novelty at party congresses--I mean this procedure for electing the first secretary. In view of this the delegates made use of the right to ask questions and listened to the answer.

[Question] The congress, of course, has the right to hold its closed sessions--this is its decision--but nevertheless I would like you to describe, as far as possible--without committing any indiscretions--the course of this discussion at the closed session.

[Answer] It (?would) be very difficult to describe it because of the fact, as I have said, that it was full of questions, of polemics between the delegates, of replies by the candidates. As a result it really did last about 2 hours. But it would be difficult to speak here about some sort of uniform trend in the discussion.

[Question] Could we ask about categories of questions? What did they apply to?

[Answer] Categories of questions? The questions concerned both political activity in the past and the implementation of the program that will be formulated at the continuing congress. These questions also applied to certain events from our most recent past. This is what can be said about the categories of question.

[Question] Did any answer particularly stick in your memory, the contents of which you would like to share with television viewers?

[Answer] This would be very difficult. I did not make notes on this broadly lasting [as heard].

[Question--reporter interrupting] And this is why we shall not be able to give a verbatim quote?

[Answer] No, I think quite simply that during this discussion the most interesting thing was the fact that the delegates were interested in what the candidates for first secretary think is the most important element in our complex economic situation, which issues these should be and in what order they should be solved. Here, of course, as stands to reason, the situation on the domestic market pushed its way to the forefront.

[Question] Since we are on the subject of this situation ...

[Answer--Bek interrupting] If I may be allowed to continue--a decision was also made--also by vote--that the Politburo should number from 12 to 19 members and from 2 to 5 candidate members. The number of the Secretariat was set at from 7 to 11 persons.

[Question] And here is something I do not understand; I would like you to explain. Who in fact is to make the final decision on the numbers of both these organs, because I understand ...

[Answer--Bek interrupting] Limit [words indistinct]. The congress agreed that the Politburo and Secretariat should have this size. I can also reply that this is a flexible number, because the point would be, for instance, not to exceed 19. But this does not mean at all that 19 might be elected right here and now at the second plenary session of the Central Committee. The number might be smaller. The only requirement is that there be no less than 12 or more than 19.

[Question] Will the plenary session that will appoint members initially--members of the Politburo and of the Secretariat--[corrects himself] Why is there in the program a minimum [word indistinct] achievement of this lower limit in the number of both these bodies? Will ...

[Answer--Bek interrupting] Comrade editor, you used the word "initially". According to the principles, you see, which were adopted at the congress, the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee are elected by the plenum in a secret ballot. Thus, this is not an initial decision but an electoral decision of the Central Committee.

[Question] I used the word initial to refer to the fact that later there is a possibility of expanding the composition of [words indistinct] too flexible.

[Answer] Yes, I understand this.

[Question] I understand that the congress will accept even earlier the nominations for members of the Plenum. [as heard] Will it only listen to a report on this?

[Answer] It will listen to a report. There is no statement in the regulations which would make it binding to submit candidates to the congress. It will quite simply listen to a report on the intentions of the first secretary regarding the appointment of a Politburo and a Secretariat in a certain composition. I stress that the election of members of the Politburo and of the Secretariat will take place at a session of the Central Committee in a secret ballot.

[Question] Comrade editor, I would like you to give us some news on the subject of the plan for today and for tomorrow.

[Answer] Today the session is coming to a close. Tomorrow there will be a plenary discussion. I think that tomorrow we can expect a speech by Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski during the plenary discussion.

[Question] When do you expect the second plenum of the Central Committee?

[Answer] I think this must take place tomorrow.

[Question] So soon?

[Answer] That's right.

[Question] In that case can we expect the deliberations to end tomorrow?

[Answer] The question is very difficult. I cannot give you an answer. The congress decides on this. However, I think that one can expect that the deliberations will be somewhat extended.

[Question] Many points still remain to be discussed, and the adoption of important documents.

[Answer] Yes, particularly discussion on the statute, on amendments to the party statute.

[Question] Thank you very much.

[Answer] Thank you very much.

Bek Briefs Journalists

LD182248 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Jul (PAP)--Wieslaw Bek, congress spokesman, met with journalists tonight and briefed tham about the course of the (?afternoon) session.

Dealing with the first (?plenary) session of the PZPR Central Committee he noted that initially Kazimierz Barcikowski had not expressed his consent to the submission of his candidacy. But the Central Committee plenum had considered that the main condition must be fulfilled--a minimum of two candidates--and after discussion Barcikowski was persuaded to agree to his candidacy being put forward. All those who refused declared that they did not want to be candidates because they wished to support Stanislaw Kania.

The afternoon closed part of the congress' work was filled with (questions) asked to the two candidates and an extensive exchange of opinions. It ended with the voting, as a result of which it was decided--with seven (?abstentions)--to place on the list of candidates for first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Stanislaw Kania and Kazimierz Barcikowski.

Bek stressed that the (?submission) to the congress of two candidates did not mean any difference in the program. He also said that the questions asked during the discussion at the closed session dealt with both the activity of the candidates in past years and the planned means of implementing the party's program.

Organizational preparations are underway for continuing the work of the congress through 20 July.

Kania Postelection Interview

LD190644 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee First Secretary Stanislaw Kania by Mieczyslaw Marciniak on 18 July in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] [Question] Please tell us, was the decision taken by the congress to elect you as first secretary a surprise for you or did you (?expect) it?

[Answer] (?Well, I do not know), in the circumstances prevailing in our party today everything is possible.

[Question] But anyway it was an event, was it not. It was the first time in history that there was more than one candidate standing in the election.

[Answer] Yes. And also this was an authentic election with a secret ballot in which the entire congress took part.

[Question] I also noticed that the delegates very cordially greeted Comrade Barcikowski.

[Answer] Yes. And quite rightly so. He deserves greetings of this sort and he deserves to be trusted. [Words indistinct] And I think that it would have been quite good if Comrade Barcikowski had been elected first secretary.

[Question] [Word indistinct] the delegates voted for you and it is being commented on in the lobbies of the Congress Hall that everybody is for the line of renewal.

[Answer] Comrade Barcikowski also represents this line.

[Question] So you consider that from now on there will be almost total unity in the Politburo?

[Answer] Yes, I think so. (?And I hope that it is so). The party needs it very much.

[Marciniak] Thank you very much.

Autonomous TU Congratulations

LD192058 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Text] A telegram of congratulations addressed to Stanislaw Kania has been sent by a working group of the Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions. The message says, among other things: We trust that the line of the party, the leading force of the nation, which works for the sake of the whole nation and which does not place itself either above it or beside it, and whose embodiment for many Poles is to be found in your person, Comrade First Secretary, will be maintained, developed and enriched by greater cooperation with trade unions that have existed so far. The Autonomous Trade Unions have not avoided and will not avoid partner-like cooperation in the elimination of the consequences of the crisis and in the improvement of the functioning of the economic sphere.

Rakowski Addresses Congress

LD190011 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2112 GMT 18 Jul 81

["Government report" read by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski on 18 Jul to the delegates of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress in Warsaw--live or recorded]

[Text] Comrades, first a procedural matter. I prepared the report according to the wishes of delegates, assuming that it will not be televised. Hence I request that the cameras be turned the other way. [applause, some commotion and laughter]

Comrades, speaking first after the announcement of the election results for the post of first secretary of our party, I would like to take this opportunity and convey to Comrade Stanislaw Kania cordial wishes, and also a heartfelt desire that he will be surrounded in his work with a collective which will serve him with aid and advice and on which he may rely, so that cooperation will be mutual and bilateral. I am sure that he will be surrounded, as he was in the past, with a group of friendly people, which will give the first secretary a feeling of strength and a feeling of faith and conviction that he is not alone and that he operates among friendly people. But at the same time the leader of the party, like everyone who makes decisions and particularly on such a level, is often alone, particularly at moments when he must make decisions on his own. Let us see that he has few such moments and that he feels our support. [applause]

Now I would like to present the report on the existing situation at home. It is obvious--and no one will be surprised by this statement--that public opinion is being concentrated on our congress not only on general affairs but also on particular problems.

It simply transpires from all reports that every detail of the congress has been scrupulously noted and commented upon in various milieus, not only in work enterprises but also in the countryside and in offices. It is no exaggeration to say that the entire nation is interested in the course of our congress.

It is expected in general, on the basis of conversations, meetings, and discussions--and also in this discussion it can be seen that it is expected that the congress will confirm the course of the socialist renewal, that it will strengthen the position of the party and of the government and that it will begin, or rather that it will accelerate the implementation of reforms, in particular the economic reform. It is also stressed in conversations that the honesty and frankness of the delegates' comments ought to be noted. The decision of the congress on the dismissal from the party of the former leaders who left the party last year was received very well. It is also often said that the party will regain confidence and the congress will work out a concrete program.

But critical comments are also heard. This will not surprise anyone. It can be seen from all the reports which we receive that public opinion also notes excessive emotion displayed at the congress, and also exaggerated concentration on procedural and personnel issues. I am simply repeating what we receive here in Warsaw everyday, [word indistinct] I repeat what we receive in the reports. And in some milieus one also encounters anxiety whether concentrating attention on those procedural and personnel issues will permit the congress to work out a suitable program of work, whether it will simply have the time to do so. I should also like to add that those reports do not express any wish for the congress to go on for another few days. In general, the view recurs that the congress ought to end as soon as possible, I quote here, to end its work and that people ought to get down to work, that is--[Rakowski laughs as he utters remainder of sentence] I mean simply the wish addressed to us here.

I shall not report now in detail the way even various speeches are commented on here. In any case, Comrade Kania's report has been positively received. It is stated that all the most important issues in which the Polish community is interested were dealt with in the report. Naturally, opinions on the report vary in accordance with the variety of our public opinion today. So much about the congress.

Concerning the political situation, that is the atmosphere at home not immediately linked with the congress, I would like to note the fact that it transpires from numerous reports received by the government that tension at home is growing in various regions. First of all preparations continue for a strike in connection with the appointment by us, that is by the government, of the director of LOT [Polish air lines]. The strike has been announced--perhaps you comrades know about it already--but perhaps it should be noted that abroad preparatory action is being undertaken to include in the strike, or in the protest action, very many diverse work enterprises in various regions of the country, and that the action is being spread to work enterprises and establishments not directly linked with transportation, because transportation went in the front line. It transpires that it is indeed action which is to include many regions of the country.

Next, also for 23 July, a port wrokers strike has been announced in view of the fact that until now talks with the representatives of the government did not yield positive solutions. So far a report has been published that the branch commission of Solidarity is preparing the strike for 23 July, has described in detail the course of the strike, and has announced that during the strike grain, fodder and food will be handled, but that the strike will be pressed home. [do oporu]

I do not wish to present in detail, point by point, the circumstances which have led to this impasse--besides, there is not enough time to do so--but I would only like to state that the government of course recognizes as just a whole number of demands submitted by port workers, but in the situation in which our national economy finds itself at present we merely deem it necessary to postpone the implementaitn of these demands or some of these demands until such time when our national economy is in better shape.

Our stand is dictated also by the fact that the acceptance of several of the demands--in my opinion some of them are exaggerated and carried too far--would pave the way for the submission of other professions in Poland, because the people in need in our country are legion. If we open the door today to new demands of a social and financial nature we could easily enter a world of fantasy as regards the total amount of sums which would have to be spent on the increases in pay demanded, often with full justification, or else on demands pertaining to social policies. There are also announcements of proposed hunger protests in Lodz, marches or demonstrations, and also against the backdrop of the economic situation there occur in places short-term strikes or strikes are being envisaged. From this it follows that immediately after the congress, in my opinion and on the basis of the reports which are at our disposal, the situation will be aggravated. That is the social situation. This, it seems to me, with your permission, will require us to make a special effort, on the part of all us here in this hall.

I would like to add by the way, because this subject is often raised, that the government or else the leadership of the party, has at its disposal a considerable amount of facts concerning the everyday life of our country. Often at various meetings I have been asked whether we are aware of what is happening in the country. Well, there exists today both in the government and in the party leadership a highly developed system of information, but the sources of this information are varied--they come both from state and party sources--and the leaders of the party and the leadership of the government really do have a very great knowledge of what is happening every day. Often this knowledge, of course, has a very depressing effect on those who read this information.

As regards other matters regarding the political situation, then I can, of course, tell you of a whole number of activities which, I would say, are highly political, antistate or antisocialist or antiparty. There are the antisocialist slogans inscribed in various places. For instance, some of a factory workforce attached to their clothes badges with the inscription KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland]. Somewhere else we discover that congress posters have been torn down, in another place someone has torn down or taken down a red flag from a production building at a factory. Meanwhile, in the last 2 days there has been more damage to monuments or cemeteries. Of course, law enforcement organs are acting in all these cases, or the Prosecutor's Office is intervening or has intervened. These are the events which have taken place in the last few days, and their number is not declining but rather rising.

One of the greatest--not the greatest but one of them--trouble spots which might ensure in various protest actions is the supply situation. In this sphere in various parts of the country protests are multiplying, including statements that, for instnace, and here I quote from one place in Poland, that there is an assumption that the supply difficulties constitute an attempt to deliberately manipulate the nation.

Unfortunately there are such views. I will return to this because they repeat themselves to the effect that the government is conducting some kind of peculiar policy and is storing food. They are unfortunately still alive despite our continued denials. There are also resolutions on this subject passed by various organizations of Solidarity.

I should like to read one of the resolutions among others because this may be well received by our public opinion. Notably there is such a resolution which clearly says that we are conducting--do not be surprised, believe me that this is what it says--that we, that is, the government are conducting a policy of biological destruction of the nation. Such is the content of the resolution adopted by one of the Solidarity organizations. In another place it says that the restricted supplies of food must be designed to make life difficult for pilgrims in one of the Polish cities. I need not add here that these views have no foundation but, comrades, this sort of activity this is being repeated every day.

A few observations on the economic situation. What does it look like? We are still witnessing a deterioration in the production situation. Stoppages occur all the time. The managements of many production enterprises grant leave on a mass scale to workers. Very often these stoppages affect important spheres of the national economy, means of transport, enterprises producing market goods. Of course, this kind of stoppage may have bad effects.

As regards coal extraction, it is being maintained at a certain level. For instance, on the 16th 602,000 tons of coal were mined, which corresponded with the previous day's level.

This is an extraction a few thousand lower than a week ago. In metallurgy and in the engineering industry--I am now reporting on the situation this morning--in iron and nonferrous metallurgy the production of steel was not implemented due to staff shortages. The shortage of accumulator lead from the Szopienice steel works may cause a complete stoppage of the production of accumulators. There is a shortage of lead supplies in July, and there are no prospects for lead deliveries in August.

I adduce here these facts simply in order to demonstrate to the comrades how our economy is functioning today. For instance, in view of the shortage of elements from Spain which are being imported, the assembly of trucks in the Starachowice FSC (truck factory) has been discontinued today. This applies to Star 200, 28 and 29 and to the assembly of rear axles for buses FO 9. This will result in a few days time in the stoppage of production in the Sanok bus factory. And so on, and so on.

In construction and the building materials industry we are seeing a shortage of raw materials as well as a shortage of coproduction elements which cause stoppages and production restriction in 39 industrial enterprises. Also in the Ministry of Chemical and Light industries and in the Ministry of Forestry and Timber Industry, and in the municipal economy, supply difficulties appear and often become more acute. The procurement of animals for slaughter continues to be low. On the 12 July it amounted to 3,100 tons and since the beginning of the month it amounts to 68,000 tons, that is, 60.9 per cent of the plan and is lower by 27,600 tons than during last year's corresponding period.

In agriculture we continue to experience a shortage of spares for harvesting machines accumulators, tires, diesel oil, lubricants and various other parts needed for machines. Such is the situation in the economy. With regard to the market situation all voivodships report deepening discrepancies between supplies and the demand resulting from the coupons held by the population for meat and its products and poultry. Current deliveries of these goods are sufficient only to meet the needs of individual voivodships by 30-90 percent.

In the Lodz Voivodship people wait in lines in front of stores for up to 24 hours. The situation is dramatic concerning the supplies of cigarettes and loose tobacco and means of personal hygiene and detergents. Against this background we have, as I have already mentioned, strikes--but there are also various demands. For instance one workforce in Lodz came forward with the demand for a complete liquidation of free sales of all food articles. Very often, needless to say, the voivodship authorities are being blamed for the market situation.

These are just fragments of this situation in the economy, but these fragments may lead to the conclusion that the situation was not improving but undergoing constant deterioration.

Such is the appearance of facts concerning the political and economic situation of the country this morning.

I would also like to announce here to the comrades, that with this debate of ours, as you remember the first days decision of the Hotel Solidarity on additional meat allocations, we have received a statement from the work's Solidarity commission of the Mazowsze region, Hotels Syrena and Warszawa, which reads as follows: "In connection with the Telex distributed throughout the country concerning the precepts for the feeding of delegates for the Ninth PZPR Congress, the work's commission of NSZZ Solidarity, Warszawa Hotel branch, states that it has nothing to do and does not want to have anything to do with authors of the above Telex and voices a protest in connection with the signing of the Telex as NSZZ Solidarity of the Warsaw hotels, without consultation with us. At the same time we inform that the delegates for the Ninth PZPR Congress are being fed in our restaurant as are individual and group guests. The members of the congress of architects were fed on similar precepts as were members of the team and participants in the peace race.

The congress pays for the food of its delegates and we as staff render services. It is true that in connection with the congress the restaurants have received additional allocations of meat and suasages, that in connection with the peace race we have also received an additional allocation and nobody wrote dramatic Telexes about hungry children. For the Presidium of the NSZF Solidarity, chairman Marek Grabowski". [applause]

Such comrades is the appearance, in brief so as not to abuse your patience, of the situation today.

Siwak Congress Speech

LD190025 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2143 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Speech by Albin Siwak, PZPR Central Committee member and brigade leader of the Warsaw construction enterprise, at the 18 July plenary session of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress in Warsaw--live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades. I am very moved to take the floor today because I am doing so for the first time at a plenary session of a congress. Nevertheless, I have been speaking for a long time about the issues I want to mention, I mean the worker, and the Marxist-Leninist character of the party, since I believe this to be a question of the highest priority. I shall not list the causes that led to the workers' protest, but I want to say that every crisis was connected first and foremost with the fact that the party forgot about the workers and did not want to remember workers' interests.

Why was this possible? It was possible in the first place because cynical political gamblers, careerists and people devoid of ideological motivation and concerned solely with their own jobs stick to the PZPR as to a party in power. Those people will never take the stand of the working class, and workers will always be a tool and an object of manipulations for them. In the second place, it must be remembered that the increase in the numbers of the working class in Poland has been accompanied since 1956 by a quantitive decrease of workers in the party. The extent of party affiliation is diminishing within the working class.

Such a state of things has a number of consequences. Workers' interests make their way through other interests only with difficulty and they cease to dominate in the party; they are even pushed into the background. On the other hand, having few workers who are party members, the party exerts an insufficient influence on the whole of the working class, leaving free rein for alien ideologists who, with the divergence between workers' interests and interests favored by the party, gain increasingly greater influence not only in the workers' milieu but also in the entire community. As a result of this workers do not want to join the party, they move away from it, because such a party, comrades, is a workers' party only in name and a Leninist party only in second rate books.

Thus the point is to regenerate the PZPR in the right shape with a revolutionary ideology and program, with a class policy and a democratized intraparty life. The threat to the workers' character of the party has been mounting for years. We should therefore not be surprised that this problem can be so clearly seen today.

How many workers are here in this hall, natural hosts of the workers' party? We are here comrades in minority, and it could not be otherwise because we are a minority in the party. I would like to be understood, and I have said many times, that there is a place in the party for everyone, whether he is a director, engineer or professor. I have stressed it strongly many times. However, if someone wants to be in the party he should take up the positions of the working class, he should take up the workers' point of view, because it most fully defines and guarantees socialism. It should be understood in practice that the interests of the working class are the interests of the entire community and nation, and that the participation of workers in guiding the life of the party is the basic condition of its Leninist character.

The manipulation of ideology should finally stop, or the policy of the party will not serve in this country those who honestly work for their daily bread. It will be a policy of power for the sake of power, and against the community. The workers' character of the party demands, not only in statistical data, but in the preparation of an accepted program, the adoption of a socialist course, the implementation of policy of social justice. There must be workers in the party authorities. There must be so many of us that our voice will be heard in the party, and so that it will be simply impossible not to hear the voice. Then a worker will not have to shout or stomp, and then it will become truly a workers' party.

Not a few errors have been accumulated, those before August, and those since August. The people have accumulated much bitterness and anger against the former leadership and much grief and aversion against the new one. Our expectations for improvement, for radical changes, for democracy have been fulfilled by beautiful sounding words of electoral procedure, but not in substance.

It is good that workers' solidarity is growing stronger; it is bad that the opposition is also growing stronger. Under the pretext of socializing the means of production it is being proposed that share companies be organized, leading to a restoration of capitalist property in industry. Under the slogan of feeding the nation, calls are being made to set up large-scale individual farms, ignoring the threat of revival of rural poverty and destitution. Using the economic reform, there are those who wish to abolish central planning and introduce the so-called market socialism, and with it the specter of unemployment. The country is simply being flooded with semi-legal and illegal publications that slander the party system, Poland and our allies. The general striving for justice and democracy is being used by all means in order to build a system of injustice and intolerance.

One can expect that even to our neighbors, members of the Warsaw Treaty, an offer will be made declaring the fulfillment of allied obligations in exchange for tolerance of removal of power from communists, and changing socioeconomic conditions in the known direction. Comrades, we often speak here at the congress about the so-called alliance of forces of responsibility and commonsense.

I ask the authors of this term: What sort of alliance is this? Whose alliance and with whom, against whom? Is this alliance of the responsibility of commonsense within the framework of the alliance of workers and peasants or is it is substitute? We are talking about the line of dialogue: Who is conducting that dialogue and with whom, in whose name and in whose interest? Is this the dialogue of the vertical with the horizontal, or of the horizontal with the vertical, the party with the government or the government with the party, the Social Self-defense Committee [KOR] with Solidarity or Solidarity with KOR, the authorities with the nation or the nation with the authorities, or maybe simply one authority with another authority?

We are talking about the line of accord. Who is to accord with whom and against whom, the party with Solidarity against KOR, or KOR with Solidarity against the party, or maybe the party with KOR against Solidarity?

These riddles which are being brought to our attention nowadays, could simply make you go mad. Lines of division exist in our country and no empty slogan will eliminate them. These lines of division cut across the whole nation, across the working class, across the party, across Solidarity, and even across the church. These lines must be seen, a wide democratic front must be built, but at the same time it is necessary to specify where the front of the struggle lies. Otherwise it will be no compromise of any kind but rather, comrades, a common or garden variety of convergence, the Western theory of building bridges, and thus, comrades, a Pole will never come to an agreement with another Pole.

The ninth congress must decide the problem of the party, its nature and find the right means for ensuring its ideological image; it must define its political platform; it must find answers to the questions: What we are fighting for, for whom and against whom? Within the nation there is a growing sensation of threat, the specter of civil war is looming, including that of inflation, unemployment and political terrorism; the specter of hunger, lack of medicines, fuel and energy is also looming.

The program elaborated at the congress must be a program of struggle against these perils. Its main objective should be the recovery of the sense of public security, of the sense of relative economic balance, economic stability and the promise of honest prospects within the social and material spheres. A real and correct solution of these matters will determine whether the party program gains support and whether the party itself becomes a political force capable of leading socialist renewal and of bringing the country out of the struggle and from the economic, ideological and political chaos.

I do not, I presume, need to try to convince you, comrades, that otherwise we are threatened with self-annihilation as a party and as a nation. Yet the methods of saving the party, expressed here by a few comrades, and especially by Comrade Rakowski, remind me of the case when someone tried to save a man's life: A motor cyclist setting out for a ride put on his jacket back to front for the simple reason that he wanted to feel warm during the journey. During the trip he was involved in an accident and lost consciousness. Bystanders began to try to save him by straightening his head which in their opinion was facing the wrong way. Of course, they broke his neck before proper aid arrived.

This is how some people are trying to save our party; the only difference being that they are doing it deliberately and on purpose. There are many comrades here in this hall who as drivers have indicated that they are intending to turn left but in fact they are going to the right, and there is no doubt that they are going to cause an accident. This accident is the splitting of the party.

You, comrades, are demanding a greater participation of the arts, culture and science. I do not deny these demands, they are necessary. But I would like to recall that the outgoing Central Committee with a membership of 251 comrades was supposed to contain 51 workers, but in reality I managed to count as many as approximately 30 of them. Warsaw was represented in the Central Committee by actors, rectors, editors, men of letters, and directors, but only two workers. Culture and the arts brought about a situation in which none of the above-mentioned comrades ever spoke on behalf of the working class. But now not only great culture but much art will be needed to straighten out what the secretaries with diplomas succeeded in distorting.

Many comrades have spoken from this rostrum about what communists they are. But during the eighth congress they did not launch a struggle as behooves communists. They left it to the workers: let them do the fighting. And so they did.

A working woman spoke from this rostrum, a working woman from Lodz, a weaver, said to the premier's face that she was ashamed of being in the same party. An agricultural worker spoke directly to Gierek about his stupidity on the subject of agriculture and used examples to prove his point. I was told off for raising the matter of luxurious villas of many persons belonging to the leadership of the government and the party, including that of Glazur.

Despite my protests my full speech was not published in the congress bulletin. Today, many of those comrades who looked on at the desperate struggle of the workers did not make a single move to help. Their mouths are full of renewal and they call themselves communists.

When the workers were fighting for renewal in the party--and they have been doing this for several years--the present comrades wrote about successes and blinded the party and the nation. Perhaps someone can give me an answer to whether it was made possible for one worker at least to bypass his mother organization or if he was allowed to start from a higher level as many of the comrades did of the central authorities. And just look at them cry at the lack of workers. But they have looked after their own interests well including as regards the election campaign locally and in the corridors of the congress. Show me where the party has taken under its wings party activists locally--those at which Solidarity has spat and is spitting. I know of cases where workers have committed suicides at factories under pressure from the Solidarity extremists. No one is interested in their fate or is defending them. Yes, many comrades have changed their skin, like wolves into sheeps' clothing, and have hidden their teeth and claws. This is possible. But as the saying goes it is quite simply impossible to milk them and it is impossible to go along the same road as they.

I value you, Comrade Kania, for solving matters without conflicts, without using force. This is good character trait. But I censure you, Comrade Stanislaw, that there is no law in our country and the law must be the law for every Pole irrespective of who he is. Otherwise we shall perish as a nation, we shall bite each other to death. [applause]

Esteemed comrades! The present congress and everything that is taking place today in Poland beyond these walls is a link in the same chain--the struggle for people's power, for socialism, which is proceeding along various paths and which manifests itself in various forms. In this struggle the highest price is always paid by those who are genuinely devoted to the cause of socialism, for whom this idea is not only a slogan or a cover or a smokescreen for the implementation of completely different aims and intentions.

Recently, I had in my hands a book entitled "They Died in the Struggle for People's Power." Horror takes hold of one when one becomes acquainted with the contents of this book. Of the young generation today no one knows how many sacrifices were made in the struggle for workers'-peasants' power and these young people must not be blamed for not knowing this. We ourselves have forgotten about those who with their own blood paved the way toward a better future or the fatherland. Apart from modest memorial plaques and burial stones put up by families or friends bearing the inscription "died in the struggle for People's Poland"--and there are such graves throughout the whole of our country from the Tatry Mountains to the Baltic--the people's state has so far not managed to erect a monument worthy of this blood.

A monument which would recall for generations the struggle waged by the working class and the revolutionary peasantry against domestic reaction, which never shrank from any means of methods. I think that the absence of such a monument can be explained only by the fact that the people's power did not intend to erect symbols of controversy, counting on man being fallible and that a constant mentioning of his errors would not be conducive to intergration. Maybe this was a noble idea, but time has shown that reaction is not giving up the struggle but is merely perfecting the methods and laying in wait lurking for every opportunity to show its claws and teeth.

That is why it is necessary today to come back to the question of such a monument which will recall that in the struggle for the people's power more than 20,000 workers and peasants, sympathizers of the people's power, old men, women and children have perished from bandit bullets. Just one single Lublin village, Wierzchowiny, has suffered 196 casualties, starting with an 80 year old and ending with a child a few months old, brutally murdered by the armed gangs of reaction. Who remembers today the name of that village? These victims clamor from the grave for memory and it would be unworthy to forget them, as desired by those who shed their blood. In Losice, in Podhale there is a grave of a teacher, member of the Polish Workers' Party who was murdered on the street after leaving church together with a 9 year old daughter who tried to protect her father with her own body against the bullets from the reactionary bandits for the sole reason that he taught children in the proletarian spirit. Now it is not the time or place to quote examples. I want to propose here a concrete motion, for a decision on the building of a monument to those who fell in the battle for People's Poland by the hand of the reaction. I think that the union of fighters for freedom and democracy ought to undertake this initiative. [applause]

In conclusion, I would like to draw the attention of comrades to GAZETA KRAKOWSKA which says "delegations are arriving at the central station. They were welcomed by Comrade Kania." They mention other names too. "On the side also stood Comrade Siwak, but he must have been waiting for other delegations. The one from Krakow he did not approach."

This is also a manipulation of human feelings. I have been at the station not officially but privately. I welcomed every delegation. I have been carrying luggage for several women comrades to the coaches, including those from Krakow. There is a popular saying, "If the dog has nothing else to bite he bites his own tail." [applause]

Comrades you all like sensation, so why do you not write how the chairman of Polish journalists Comrade Bratkowski has publicly--I stress--described our congress. I think this may affect your feelings too. "Three percent at this congress are decent members; 10 are renovators, the rest are mud." Just like that. I value the congress and the delegates highly, comrades. Poland's history can boldly register that for the first time numerically in the Central Committee are workers, peasants, soldiers, scientists and intellectuals. This entitles me to the thesis that this Central Committee will care for all interests for the whole nation. So far there has not been such a workers' representation. The success of the workers' labors will be the success of the entire nation. Thank you. [prolonged applause]

Comrades in line with our decision this finishes today's debate. Tomorrow the plenary debate will be resumed at 0830. Good night.

Fifth Day Reviewed

LD190910 Warsaw PAP in English 0030 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Jul (PAP)--Today on the fifth day of its debate, the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress re-elected Stanislaw Kania 1st secretary of the PUWP CC for the coming term of office from among the members of the new PUWP CC.

As we expected, the greatest number of the delegates took the floor at task group meetings. All in all, 2,575 persons took part in the work of the congress task groups. They included delegates, invited guests and experts. 761 persons, including 658 delegates, took the floor. 573 persons, including 540 delegates, submitted their statements in writing to be entered in the records. Therefore, 1,334 persons took part in the discussion in the task groups. The discussion covered a wide range of business, was sharp and controversial, bringing important elements to the drafts of congress resolutions.

The plenary debate was continued also today, with seven persons taking part.

At 5:00 p.m., the congress resumed debates at a closed-door session to approve candidates for the PUWP CC first secretary proposed at the 1st PUWP CC plenary meeting and to fix the number of members of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the CC.

In an open ballot, participants in the plenum put Stanislaw Kania and Kazimierz Barcikowski on the list of candidates for 1st secretary of the PUWP CC with 7 votes abstaining and with no votes against.

The elegates asked the two candidates a number of questions about their activity in the past years as well as about the planned way of implementing the party's programme.

Later, the delegates accepted the numerical force of the Political Bureau which should number from 12 to 19 persons and that of the CC Secretariat which should number from 7 to 11 persons, as proposed by the PUWP CC plenary meeting. The number of alternate members of the Political Bureau was fixed at from [figures indistinct] persons.

Then, the delegates listened to a report of the chairman of the Returns Commission on the principles of elections to the post of 1st secretary of the PUWP CC and later the voting was held.

Presenting the results of the elections for the 1st secretary of the PUWP CC, the chairman of the Returns Commission said:

"On behalf of the Returns Commission, I have the honour of announcing the results of the voting for the post of the 1st secretary of the PUWP CC. The Returns Commission says that out of the 1,955 delegates present at the 9th congress, 1,944 delegates cast their votes. These included 1,939 valid and 5 invalid votes. Eleven persons did not take part in the voting.

Kazimierz Barcikowski and Stanislaw Kania received 568 and 1,311 votes respectively. Sixty persons voted against the two candidates. Stanislaw Kania was elected 1st secretary of the PUWP CC at the 9th congress.

The delegates gave Stanislaw Kania a long, cordial and standing ovation. Kazimierz Barcikowski and Wojciech Jaruzelski were the first to cordially congratulate the 1st secretary of the PUWP CC.

Then the floor was taken by Stanislaw Kania who thanked participants in the congress for the confidence they (?displayed) [words indistinct] table earlier by one (?of the delegates) [words indistinct] presented a report on Poland's current political [words indistinct] break in the debates [words indistinct] 8:30 a.m. tomorrow morning was announced after (?the delegates) took part in the plenary discussion.

After the end of Saturday debates, delegates and party activists, who know Stanislaw Kania from long time, congratulated him on being elected in a democratic way.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOLDS PLENARY SESSION 19 JULY

Kania Remarks Reported

LD192204 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2005 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Excerpt] We received a report a moment ago from PAP on the course of the plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee. Opening the deliberations, first secretary of the Central Committee, Stanislaw Kania, stressed that the Central Committee chosen by the congress is a Central Committee of great hope. It depends on us, he stated, how our party matters will go. Stanislaw Kania stressed that a great responsibility rests on members of the Central Committee.

Our strength is credibility, because we have been chosen during the most democratic elections. The first secretary of the Central Committee announced that the Central Committee would be meeting shortly, to discuss the course of its work. The idea was for the Central Committee to be the spokesman of the whole party, to be its active working organ, both directing and controlling the Politburo, the Central Committee apparatus and other party echelons. He also announced the setting up of Central Committee commissions. The Politburo will put forward proposals on this matter, asking members of the Central Committee for their opinions.

Stanislaw Kania stated that the present plenary session of the Central Committee is devoted to the election of the members of the Politburo, candidate members of the Politburo and the secretaries of the Central Committee. The Central Committee will elect the Politburo and Secretariat, as determined at the congress, in a secret ballot. The right to put forward candidates also belongs, in accordance with congress's decisions, both to the first secretary of the Central Committee and all members of the Central Committee.

Stanislaw Kania then put forward the candidates for members of the Politburo: Kazimierz Barcikowski; Tadeusz Czechowicz, first secretary of the Lodz committee of the PZPR; Jozef Czyrek, minister of foreign affairs; Zofia Grzyb, forewoman at Radoskor in Radom; Wojciech Jaruzelski; Hieronym Kubiak, from the academic staff of the Jagiellonian University; Jan Labecki, first secretary of the PZPR Works Committee at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk; Zbigniew Messner, rector of the Economics Academy in Katowice; Miroslaw Milewski, minister of internal affairs; Stefan Olszowski; Stanislaw Opalko, first secretary of the PZPR voivoship committee in Tarnow; Tadeusz Porebski, first secretary of the voivodship committee of the party in Wroclaw; Jerzy Romanik, blaster-miner, foreman at the Sienianowice hard coal mine; and Albin Siwak, foreman in the building construction combine Warszawa-Wschod.

Stanislaw Kania recalled that the first secretary of the Central Committee, already elected by the congress, also goes on to the [word indistinct] of the Politburo.

As candidate members of the Politburo, Stanislaw Kania proposed Jan Glowczyk, editor-in-chief of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE and Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, first secretary of the PZPR voivodship committee in Olsztyn.

As secretaries of the Central Committee, he proposed Kazimierz Barcikowski; Jozef Czyrek; Hieronim Kubiak; Zbigniew Michalek, director of the State Farm combine in Glubczyce; Miroslaw Milewski; Stefan Olszowski; Marian Wozniak, first secretary of the PZPR voivodship committee in Siedlce.

Putting forward those candidates, the first secretary stressed that their choice was guided by strivings for the broadest possible representation as well as an increase in the participation of workers in the party's supreme authorities.

Stanislaw Kania also stressed that the principle had also been accepted, which had been raised during the congress, that apart from the premier, nobody belonging to the government should go into the Politburo. As regards the ministers, Jozef Czyrek and Milewski, this means that in case of their election they would move to work in the Central Committee. The first secretary also stressed the fact that for the first time in the history of our party a woman is proposed as a candidate to the Politburo. A lively discussion concerned both the candidates submitted to the highest party authorities and the manner of their work [trybuich pracy]. The candidates were asked questions and additional candidates were put forward. The following were proposed as members of the Politburo: Mieczyslaw Maksymowicz, a private farmer from the village of Kedzierzyn in Koszalin voivodship; Kazimierz Miniur, first secretary of the factory committee in the Lenin steelworks in Krakow; Jozef (Mitak), locksmith and brigade leader from Warski shipyard in Szczecin; Stefan (Paderek), a miner from the hard coal mine Wiktoria in Walbrzych.

As candidate Politburo members the following were proposed: Stanislaw (Palkus), brigade leader from the Cegielski works in Poznan and Jadwiga Nowakowska, master craftswoman from the Femina textile works in Lodz. All these candidatures have been submitted to the electoral list, which was then put to the vote. The list was adopted.

Earlier, it was established that 15 members and 2 candidate members will enter the Politburo and that the Secretariat will have 7 members. The Returning Commission was established to count the votes. The commission began its work. The first secretary of the party Central Committee asked the Central Committee to confirm the following as chief editors of party periodicals: Wieslaw Bek, editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU; Stanislaw Wronski, editor-in-chief of CHLOPSKA DROGA. The Central Committee in an open vote confirmed these functions.

Politburo Election Results

LD200940 Warsaw PAP in English 0400 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Jul (PAP)--The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party continued its first plenary meeting during a break in the congress debate today.

Today's meeting was devoted to the election of the Political Bureau, alternate Political Bureau members and PUWP Central Committee secretaries.

Next, Stanislaw Kania presented 15 candidates for the Political Bureau, [words indistinct] for alternate Political Bureau members; and seven candidates for PUWP Central secretaries.

Putting forth his candidates, the secretary of the PUWP Central Committee stressed that he picked them with the broadest representation in mind, and in order to increase the share of workers in the supreme party authorities. Kania also said that the principle of the Political Bureau not including any government member except the prime minister, suggested at the congress, was also applied.

The lively discussion concerned both the candidates to the supreme party body and their work. The candidates were asked questions and extra candidates were named and placed on the election list which was then put to a vote and accepted.

All of Kania's candidates were elected. The returns of the vote were as follows: Political Bureau members: Kazimierz Barcikowski--186, out of 191 valid votes, Tadeusz Czechowicz--170, Jozef Czyrek--187, Zofia Grzyb--177, Wojciech Jaruzelski--189, Hieronim Kubiak--150, Jan Labecki--162, Mieczyslaw Maksymowicz--42, Zbigniew Messner--176, Miroslaw Milewski--167, Kazimierz Miniur--57, Jozef Miak--45, Stefan Olszowski--186, Stanislaw Opalko--168, Stefan Paterek--35, Tadeusz Porebski--170, Jerzy Romanik--166, Albin Siwak--133.

Alternate Political Bureau members: Jan Glowczyk--151, out of 192 valid votes, Stanislaw Kalkus--46, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak--126, Jadwiga Nowakowska--49.

PUWP Central Committee secretaries: Kazimierz Barcikowski--187, out of 192 valid votes, Jozef Czyrek--189, Hieronim Kubiak--164, Zbigniew Michalek--183, Miroslaw Milewski--178, Stefan Olszowski--[number indistinct], Marian Wozniak--178.

At a press conference following the plenum the congress press spokesman, Bek spoke about the course of the plenum and, in response to a journalist's question, explained that [words indistinct] father of the controversial "horizontal structures" movement was invited to the congress by the Torun delegation but he was unable to say who had invited [words indistinct].

[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish on 19 July at 2100 GMT also reports on the press conference with congress spokesman Wieslaw Bek, adding: "Wieslaw Bek also explained that Zbigniew Iwanow, who is at the congress, is a guest of the Torun delegation. However he was not able to answer who had invited the representatives of the Katowice Party Forum."]

Politburo, Secretariat Elected

LD191811 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1738 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Text] The plenary debate at the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress has resumed after a break. Right at this moment Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the party Central Committee, is conveying the results of the elections to the Politburo and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

The following are the members of the Politburo:

Kazimierz Barcikowski

Todeusz Czechowicz

Jozef Czyrek

Zofia Grzyb

Wojciech Jaruzelski

Zbigniew Messner

Miroslaw Milewski

Hieronim Kubiak from the Jagiellonian University

Jan Labecki, first secretary of the factory party committee at a shipyard

Albin Siwak, team leader of the Warszawa construction combine

Stefan Olszowski

Stanislaw Opalko, first secretary of the Tarnow voivodship committee

Jerzy Romanik, miner from the Siemianowice coal mine

Professor Tadeusz Porebski, first secretary of the Wroclaw party committee

The candidate members of the Politburo are:

Jan Glowczyk, chief editor of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE

Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, first secretary of the Olsztyn voivodship party committee

The members of the Central Committee Secretariat:

Kazimierz Barcikowski

Jozef Czyrek

Hieronim Kubiak

Zbigniew Michalek, director of a state farm combine in Glubczyce in Opole Voivodship

Miroslaw Milewski, to date minister of internal affairs

Stefan Olszowski

Marian Wozniak, first secretary of the Siedlce voivodship party committee

Control Commission Session

LD200729 Warsaw PAP in English 2020 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Jul (PAP)--The PUWP Central Commission for Party Control met at its first plenary session here to day which was attended by PUWP first secretary Stanislaw Kania. Jerzy Urbanski, the commision's former deputy chairman, recommended by Kania to the chairmanship of the commission, was elected to the post by secret ballot. The decision was taken to fix the membership of the commission's Presidium at 13 people, who were duly elected by secret ballot.

Addressing the meeting, Kania said the commission should be the party's conscience. It should prevent the party's ailments and react not only when ultimate measures are necessary, he said. "There is need for a sensitiveness of the commission's membership to all that weakens the ideological principles of the party and its ability to act," he added.

Auditing Commission Meeting

LD200740 Warsaw PAP in English 2012 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Jul (PAP)--The PUWP Central Audit Commission convened at its first session here today which was attended by Kazimierz Barcikowski. Kazimierz Morawski, expert for housing construction at the industrial construction enterprises Buddstal of Krakow-Nowa Huta, was elected the commission's chairman. A 15-man Presidium was elected by secret ballot.

Morawski voiced confidence in that the commission will not only be concerned with membership fees and the party's finances: "We will support the new Central Committee through control of its resolutions and though studying their compliance with the resolutions adopted at the party's congress," he said.

REPORTAGE ON 19 JULY PZPR CONGRESS SESSION

Delegate Criticizes Siwak

LD192306 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Excerpts] The deliberations of the sixth day of the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress began at 0830.

The first speaker in today's plenary debate discussion was Stanislaw Roczniak, chief of the research establishment at the Gamra [word indistinct] plastics factory in Jaslo in Krosno Voivodship.

Then a rejoinder to yesterday's speech by Albin Siwak was given by (Andrzej Lewioda), a delegate from Lodz Voivodship. He said that after having watched both television programs in which Albin Siwak took part he was full of recognition for his stance but that he received, however, his speech at the congress plenary session with mixed feelings. This speech contained many theses which were presented clearly and correctly. However, one cannot agree with the calling into question of social agreements by asking questions about who concluded agreements with whom. These agreements have been concluded by workers since the working class is one and is united by common interests. Neither can one call into question the line of agreement at a time when the first secretary of the party Central Committee has given the assurance that the policy of dialogue will be continued.

The next speaker in the plenary discussion was Janusz Basiak, first secretary of the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship Party Committee.

More Criticism of Siwak

LD192316 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1010 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Speech by Warsaw delegate (Stankiewicz) at the morning session of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress plenary debate on 19 July in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] In connection with yesterday's speech by Comrade Albin Siwak, I want to make a short statement. First, I am a radio and television journalist, a delegate to the congress and also a member of the Presidium of the Association of Polish Journalists. I cannot be indifferent to public statements by Comrade Bratkowski, chairman of the association. Yesterday Stefan Bratkowski sent a telegram to the congress which, I understand, did not reach this hall for technical reasons. The telegram reads as follows: I have never either in speech or in writing, either in public or in private, made contemptuous remarks about the delegates to our party congress. And there is a record of all my public speeches. I treat with deep contempt the lies and slander used by the people who speak through Albin Siwak.

Second, yesterday I felt obliged to ask Comrade Siwak when and where Comrade Bratkowski made the statement, quoted in the speech, that was offensive to the congress. You, Comrade Siwak, replied that it was made in public, but in the association there are recordings of it. Since there are two versions, I ask you, Comrade Siwak, to submit proof to the congress Secretariat. [loud applause]

Siwak-Bratkowski Commission

LD192337 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1114 GMT 19 Jul 81

[From the morning session of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress plenary debate on 19 July in Warsaw--recorded]

[Excerpts] [Ryszard (Tarackiewicz)] Esteemed Comrades, in view of the fact that the atmosphere surrounding one small issue is quite unnecessarily beginning to have a bearing on our session, I would like to submit the following proposal for the Secretariat and comrades to consider: to appoint a one-off commission from the composition of the congress Presidium on the issue concerning the controversy and statements of Comrade Siwak and Comrade Bratkowski, which will adopt a stance with regard to those materials and will propose a further settlement of the issue.

[Unidentified speaker] A formal proposal has been submitted which was earlier supported in writing by Comrades Nawrooka and (Kanska) from Krakow to drop the discussion on the issue of Bratkowski. I submit this proposal to the vote.

[Chairman of the election result commission] Result of voting: 188 votes against, 74 abstentions.

[same unidentified speaker] Thank you, Comrade Chairman. I declare that the submitted proposal has been accepted by a large majority of votes. In connection with this we end for the time being the discussion on the issue of Comrade Bratkowski.

19 July Speakers

LD192305 Warsaw PAP in English 1630 GMT 19 Jul 81

["Discussion at 9th PUWP Congress (Excerpts)"--PAP Headline]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 19 Jul (PAP)--Here are statements by delegates to the 9th PUWP Congress who took the floor on July 19:

Stanislaw Roczniak, member of the Central Party Control Commission, secretary of the PUWP Krosno Voivodship Committee, said that the draft statute submitted to the congress deliberations on the whole agrees with proposals put forth during pre-congress discussion. But delegates are aware that introduction of additional amendments offered no absolute guarantee that the party will operate correctly unless the statute is strictly observed by all party members without exception. One major reason responsible for the weakening of the party was the pursuit for its quantitative development. And that was a mistake. In future, the critera for party membership must be made much more strict. The speaker stressed that the worker-peasant core in the Polish United Workers Party should be strengthened.

Consolidation of the party is the prerequisite for leading the country out of crisis. Without it effective socialist renewal is out of the question.

Janusz Basiak, first secretary of the PUWP Tarnobrzeg Voivodship Committee, said that results of the election have borne out the fact that the congress unanimously accepts the line approved at the 6th PUWP CC plenary meeting, a line of agreement and constructive dialogue. The working class core has been remarkably strengthened in the Central Committee.

The party apparatus--the unpaid and the paid workers alike--is also the backbone of the party. Also this apparatus should be subject to change.

The party must mount an offensive, take over initiative and inspire the actions of all constructive forces of socialism in Poland rallied round the party programme, said the speaker.

In the past workers representation in the party authorities was usually lost at the level of the Political Bureau. Therefore, I am proposing that the new statute provides that the participation of workers directly engaged in the sphere of material production be set up to 50 per cent of the Political Bureau membership. They should be rotated between the congresses. A system of control of the implementation of party resolutions must be established through changing the method of work of the Central Committee, above all through remodelling the operation of the Party Control Commission, went on the speaker.

For 10 months now the society has been waiting for a constructive and realistic programme of action to make possible consolidation of all social forces for the salvation of People's Poland. Withouth any preconditions, the economic reform, including the price reform, must be carried through. It is necessary to convince the society that it should voluntarily accept a considerable decrease of the living standard for some time now.

Jerzy Slominki, alternate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the PUWP Zyaradow Town Committee, said that by an objective evaluation the congress should finish the state connected with the past. As a party, we can no longer act with our head turned backward.

It is high time our attention was turned to the present day and the future, to the solution of the swollen problems of men's life and work. The congress should work out fully democratic principles of party functioning, in line with Leninist norms, which enshrined in the statute, will safegaurd against return to the bad practices of the past. The congress should approve correct directions of overcoming the socio-economic crisis to cover the whole sphere of legal, economic and social relations, said the speaker.

It was the bad practice of the past years that all kinds of appeals, programmes and slogans, unaccompanied by actions, were bandied about. This practice has not yet been fully discarded.

The tremendous fervour in the political sphere has not been matched by similar enlivenment of the economy. But a great many things could be improved and many shortcomings removed without having to wait for big reforms, said Slominski.

Stanislaw Opalko, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the PUWP Tarnow Voivodship Committee, said that the society expected from the congress adoption of resolutions guaranteeing that the state will be led out of the economic difficulties and the party from the complicated socio-political situation.

The present methods of management only lead to catastrophe. Measures are being introduced too slowly and indecisively. There is no other way of overcoming the difficult situation but the quickest possible introduction of the economic reform consistent with the interests and feelings of the working people. The principle that the working people become identiifed with their work place is in my view the most needed ingredient of the reform, this, simply, is self-governance. In it are incentives allowing for utilization of all the still not negligible reserves, said the speaker.

Now it is necessary to get down to honest work, not waiting handouts or rescheduling of debts. By the work of their own hands the Poles are capable of leading their country out of difficulties. It will take years to lead the economy out of the difficulties but social order must be brought in much quicker. It has become fashionable to slander the party, the people's militia and the prosecutor's office. Hooligan excesses striking at the honour of Soviet soldiers are known and condemned, continued the speaker.

Situation in the country is dramatically bad. Social conflicts are proliferating both bred by genuine needs but also such that are provoked in order to try to change the balance of social forces and effect a change of power. Only a uniform and strong party will be able to settle these troubles, the speaker said.

Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Central Board of the Socialist Union of Polish Youth [SUPY] referred in his speech to the recent Extraordinary SUPY Congress and said that the union has emerged fromthe congress considerably strengthened, prepared to take up struggle for one organization of socialist youth.

We feel that our organization can play an important stabilizing role only on the basis of the Leninist theory of the youth union laying emphasis on patriotic and international education, said Jaskiernia.

Last August, continued the speaker, showed with precision the last potential inherent in young people. It manifested itself in that manner because until then young people were deprived of institutional forms ensuring their participation in the country's life. Conclusions must be drawn from the situation which emerged in August and later on. We find that the proposed entry in the congress resolution concerning youth is far from satisfactory. If the congress confines itself only to signalizing the problem without proposing concrete solutions young people will be again sorely disappointed. The social policy concerning the younger generation calls for a long-term strategy. Appropriate experience of certain socialist countries could prove valuable, said Jaskiernia.

Characterizing the post-August period in the country's social and political life, the speaker voiced the fear that the process of disintegration of the society and the weakening of the party might continue.

Mieczyslaw Kaminski, alternate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the PUWP Zamosc Committee, said that the priority for agriculture declared at the congress meets the expectations of an overwhelming majority of the society. But the point is that declarations be followed by effective action. Considerable reserves do exist in agriculture, of which the Zamosc Voivodship is one example. A priority matter for today is to make up for the technological backwardness, carry out land reclamation operations and improve the countryside's infrastructure. One must not allow that processing plants are built far from raw material sources only because pressure is brought by specific interests. The policy of developing the sugar producing industry should be reconsidered. We are building beautiful modern sugar plants abroad while neglecting the country's own needs, said the speaker.

The speaker appealed to the delegates from the coal mining region for bigger coal supplies for agriculture.

Zbigniew Gruntmeyer, member of the Central Auditing Commission, surgeon general of Rheumatology Department at the out-patient medical centre in Sieradz, said that since the 9th congress will decide on the most important matters for the country and the nation it must be borne in mind that even the most impressive plans will fail unless health protection is properly organized.

When the country's administrative reform was introduced, free medical care was extended to embrace the countryside. 6.5 million villagers were supposed to benefit from it. Unfortunately, the Ministry of Health failed to ensure the basic ways and means and personnel for this purpose, said the speaker.

Zofia Czaja, chairwoman of a peasant self-help cooperative in Plesna, Tarnow Voivodship, said that over the recent years the socio-political activity of women in many milieus has declined significantly. Such a state of affairs cannot be tolerated because women represent half of the country's gainfully occupied population, are well-educated and trained.

This situation has been caused by the absence of a long-term social policy in the country. Among the problems still awaiting solution is provision of enough places at child care centres for working mothers, construction of creches and kindergartens, as well as paid holiday leaves for mothers caring for their small children at home, said Zofia Czaja. She also said that the problems of women in the congress draft resolution have been treated too superficially.

Andrezj Wojciechowski, the Przemysl voivoda, said that the congress should work out a programme that would be accepted as their own by party members and the entire society as well. The resolutions of the 6th [as received] congress must be realistic, reflecting the authentic needs and possibilities of the party and the entire society.

What we need is a party inseparably linked with the working masses. The hitherto principle of the leading role of the party should be verified to allow for more inspiration and control activities. The point is also for the party to abstain from doing things for the administration and to ensure broadly conceived self-governance to trade union and socio-economic organizations. The party, in its work, should rely on elective organs and party members rather than on permanent staff alone. The congress delegates should be allowed to keep their mandates up to the next party congress and some of the delegates should be invited for sessions of the Central Committee, said Wojciechowski.

Wlodzimierz Michaluk, alternate member of the PUWP CC, first secretary of the PUWP Voivodship Committee in Lomza:

"Society expects that the resolutions to be adopted at the congress will provide a clear-cut and socially approved image of a radical improvement in the situation within a universally approved general line of socialist renewal and that they seriously refer to the social agreements negotiated since last August.

"Reality requires that the congress take a stand on the need to renegotiate some of those agreements. The point is that the party should support what is reasonable and specify possibilities for near future. This is one of the conditions for rendering the party reliable in the eyes of the nation.

"As regards the socio-economic sphere, big hopes are pinned on the programme of stabilizing the economy and getting it gradually onto a road of development. This should be effected within constitutional principles."

Krzysztof Dorosz, CC member, private farmer from Biala Podlaska Voivodship, while discussing the situation in agriculture stressed the lack of balance between the prices of products of the farmers and the industrial workers' work. Every year, many young people leave the villages while 60,000 farms remain without owners. He pointed to the disastrously low supplies of means needed for agricultural production. He also complained about the amount of pensions for elderly farmers.

Maceij Redde, manager of a cooperative farming enterprise in the Chelm Voivodship, critically assessed the hitherto farming policy and named the main needs in this area. It is urgent for a number of industrial branches to switch over their production and to take agricultural needs into account. This manoeuvre was announced by the government some time ago already, but there are still no effects. It is important to increase the production of chemical fertilizers, chemical plant protection agents, machines and industrial fodders. In the long run, the speaker deemed it especially important to ensure stability for private peasant farms and to fix an appropriate structure of prices ensuring permanent profitability for these farms.

Kociolek Address

LD200152 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1627 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Speech by Stanislaw Kociolek, first secretary of the Warsaw Voivodship Committee, at 19 July session of Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress--recorded]

[Text] Comrade delegates: The socio-economic situation, as far as the main indices are concerned, is characterized by a fall in the national income in the current year by about 17 percent; this is a disastrous decline, as Comrade Jaruzelski already mentioned.

The general state of market imbalance is characterized by the fact that for every zloty paid out there will be 57 groszes worth of delivered goods and services. There is insufficient production of food and deepening contradictions between the state and cooperative procurement system and the free market interest of the countryside; there is a breakdown of meat retioning even given imports from the capitalist countries; a breakdown in the fuel and energy system, with the expected dangerous consequences in the near future; the absurd discrepancy, of many years' duration, between wages, production and efficiency. In the first half-year, indebtedness grew including, to a considerable degree, for consumption.

All these matters were vividly illustrated by the Main Statistical Office communique concerning the economic results for the first half-year.

There are no chances for beginning to emerge from the economic crisis in these conditions, without a universal realization and acceptance of the fact that we have been living beyond our means, that decisions must be taken which will be painful early; in other words, a universal lowering of the standard of living will have to be accepted -- which is in fact becoming a reality — and of the level of real wages.

Reform is a vital necessity for the country. But the reform is an auxiliary means. It is sufficient to compare the experience of the fraternal countries in this respect. The success of reform is one of the most important matters for the party, but neither the party nor anyone else will create all the material preconditions for the normal functining of the economy. Raw materials and hard currency can be organized only by efforts of the state. And this effort must of course be organized.

Various proposals are being put forward. Among others, the party organization in the planning Commission at the Council of Ministers is putting forward a proposal for creating a government discretionary [dyposycyjny] center, equipped with extraordinary powers--for example for 2 years--and at the same time for liquidating such discretionary centers as the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers, the Committee of Food Husbandry and the like.

An important condition is the guarantee for such powers not only from the government, but also from the party, allied parties, trade unions and, of course, the Sejm.

It is a question of our role in the economy. I would like to stress the following things. I consider that the party has the duty to bring to its own and everyone's awareness that in essence, in the economy, we are still on the course of the seventies, which led to the breakdown. This concerns the loss of the role of central planning, the basis of socialist economic management; this concerns feeding on credit, to a considerable degree, the stagnation in exports, the slow orientation of the economy to the needs of agriculture and food.

the party must actively concern itself with economic problems, -- this is a universally accepted truth — according to the needs at the time, through the mediation of comrades directly, and in the representative organs, the organs of self-government and in the party committees. There is no doubt of this. We must be involved in the midst of economic affairs, including personnel powers. There can be no other orientation.

Finally, I think that we must attach particular importance to justice, especially in connection with the set of very difficult matters of reform, and of price changes. The strengthening of the state and law-abidingness [words indistinct]. I would like to stress the following principles: the political order, and in the supreme place, socialism and the leading role of the party are inviolable. [words indistinct] This principle was accepted, [words indistinct]; it is sufficient to recall the well-known agreements.

Mention is made of various threats to the just line of the sixth plenum. True, there are such things. Stanislaw Kania spoke of them in his report. The most important -- the attacking of the political order -- is spoken of more rarely. This evaulation at the Central Committee plenums was presented more than once. It is significant that it is so rarely accepted with the full vigilance it deserves.

After all, we are working in conditions in which a program, or programs, were put forward, based on unsocialist inspirations. Political-propaganda activity of the rightwing, with a distinctly counterrevolutionary orientation and a universal range, was and is being developed. A situation of diarchy is created, often called "partnership." The principle is therefore being violated.

It is imperative to fill out the state and legal structure with bills which would regulate the new problems in the life of the community and the state. The government -- Jaruzelski just spoke of this -- submitted to the Sejm the relevant drafts. Already now they ought to mark out the course of affairs. This relates in particular to matters of employees' self-government. The involvement of the party in effective regulations which respect political order is obvious. The Sejm ought to make a stand on this, and its exclusive constitutional rights must be respected; yet violations do (?occur).

The government must have command and authority over the whole range of internal relations subject to its powers; it happens that they too are violated. The government must be strong by law, service hierarchy and discipline. The entire party support is necessary in favor of strengthening the state. Whoever points to opposition between a strong state -- strong, too, in its self-government, in its broad scope of employees' cooperation -- and renewal based on the so-called self-governing community, undercuts the bases of the organized national life.

A few words about the party. The principle is its leading role. When the role of the leader -- and the leading role -- are often spoken of interchangeably, I think that this is not a question of semantics, but a question of principle. By leading role I understand the retention of well-tried ways, and the elaboration of new instruments -- indispensable in changing conditions -- of discharging power. When self-governing community is mentioned as an alternative to the community which is named euphemistically bureaucratic, it is always in essence a question of power, of the assuming of real power.

Such, after all, is the sense of proposals of the so-called Solidarity network. However, the point is that in conditions of reform, in the stakes for self-government and responsibility, the party can gain more favorable conditions for fulfilling the leading function in cooperation with the fraternal parties.

If we were to depart from this function, this would mean that we are giving up the non-transferable principle of the political order. I think that this must be clear both in the party and generally. The basis of the political structure of the state, of its representative organizations, is the alliance between our party and the other political parties.

For some months concepts were put forward to abolish these structures. I take the stance that open possibilities of participation by all organized social forces ought to, and will, enrich the National Unity Front. But its basis -- the alliance between our party and the political parties -- cannot be exchanged.

From this rostrum, and also in the precongress discussion, these changes were nonetheless suggested, changes of fundamental principles of political order.

On the Marxist-Leninist party, I wish to stress the following principles. The ideological orientation is scientific socialism and realism. Taking into consideration the specific national situation goes without saying. The universal principles are not at the same time the antithesis of national properties. I am expressing the view that one of the main causes of our failure in the building of socialism was withdrawing from the universal principles of realistic socialism.

Democracy, also in the party, is a need and not a gesture, as Comrade Kania defines it. It will be a reality if, speaking symbolically, the two pillars -- the primary party organizations and the central authorities -- are involved equally, on the same side, in the struggle which we are waging. It will be so, when -- in accordance with the inviolable principle of democratic centralism -- the leading political functions will be discharged by the central party authorities.

The internationalist ideological bonds of proletarian internationalism as we call them, are the next important basis in the party. I reject the geopolitical presentation of the question of our place in the socialist community. This is for us a matter of common arguments and ideological and political orientations, of common state interests concerning security, peace, the economy. This is a matter of our strength and not weakness, a matter of historical change in the history of the nation, and for the good.

Party unity is always a much sought-after objective. The party is not monolithic, neither ideologically nor politically; Comrade Kania spoke of this from this rostrum. A cankered phenomenon in the party are--as I call them--the syndicates of labelers, active outside the Central Committee, evaluating the Central Committee, the Politburo, and absolutely everyone. They pronounce on what is renewal and what isn't, who is a renewalist and who is a revisionist or a conservative. The real problems and questions, and the necessary answers, are different: Where are we going as a state; why are we consolidating the leading role of the party with such difficulty; why has diarchy emerged and why is it consolidating itself and--coupled with it--leading to a dangerously divided community.

Within the party, ideological and political groups formed which are active and are searching for adherents to other lines than the line from the 6th to the 11th party Central Committee plenums, and other than our congress.

An expression of active division was also, at this congress, the speech at the end of the second day of the congress debates, before the elections. The speech proposed different evaluations than those contained in the report by the party first secretary; it essentially called for the changing of the party first secretary. Before this congress, 25 points of the so-called congress minimum were distributed. They are a condensed form of a line for building a party, which I would call anti-Marxist-Leninist. The ideological clarity and distinctness, the lucidity of our position are what I consider the chance for our party in the community, and not an amalgamation of most varied platforms and [word indistinct] taken from all around.

Ideological and political unity, in the sense of general orientations, in keeping with the ideological declaration contained in the draft statute, is the condition for the party's rebirth. Frequently, comrades--wait, it will be 15 [as heard]--frequently, comrades, we summon well known authorities. Allow me to give a quotation. This simple and obvious fact has not yet been realized to a sufficient degree--since the main disasters of fate and famine and unemployment, these disasters cannot be reversed by anyone's enthusiasm, but only by many-sided, universal, general national organization and discipline, necessary for stepping up the production of bread for people, and bread for industry; fuel, only [words indistinct] so that in this case the blame for the torments of famine and unemployment is carried by everyone who breaks the discipline of work in any industrial works, on any farm, in any matter.

The petty bourgeois element, with which we shall have to conduct the most stubborn struggle, manifests itself precisely in the poor awareness of the economic and political link between famine and unemployment on the one hand, and the anarchy of principles all together, and every man for himself, as far as organization and discipline are concerned. It manifests itself in the fact that the view of the petty owner obstinately persists. As long as I reap as much as possible for myself, let anything happen. These words were written by Lenin in 1918. [applause]

COMMENTARY VIEWS WESTERN INTEREST IN PZPR CONGRESS

LD172349 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] There is a commentary on the Ninth PZPR Congress in the ninth issue of the public-political weekly RZECZYWISTOSC, which has been published for two months:

The Ninth PZPR Congress is taking place in the eyes of the whole world. It has been a long time since there was an international event which attracted with such force the attention of the public. Both friends and partners and opponents of socialist Poland express in this connection their expectations and hopes in countless commentaries and analytical publications.

In the case of the former, a tone prevails of circumspection and deep concern. No one can know better than our neighbors and allies what a positive or negative influence the ninth congress may have on the strengthening of the socialist community and on the strengthening of peace and security in Europe. As for its opponents, they do not conceal their hopes for the victory of "their" congress, a congress, as a result of which the rightwing forces in Poland, and also the North Atlantic Treaty, might be able to extend freely the Polish "breech" to weaken the position of the Soviet Union on its western flank, to destabilize the Polish People's Republic and the neighboring states by encouraging centrifugal aspirations.

There are too few who remember that certain forces in the West want to guarantee their political interests at precisely our expense. The stormy raptures among certain capitalist circles on account of the "Polish experiment" or the support which they provide for the "reformers" of socialism are very often the result of cold calculations.

The ninth congress will not change, for it cannot change, the main facts of Polish reality. We are deeply convinced that only the future will show what actual significance for the process of socialist renewal the ninth congress will have. We also believe that this event will be proof for the whole world that the Polish Communists, precisely the communists, not the opportunists, social democrats or simply those who have become doubtful about communism, can find themselves at this congress. Even if they are a minority at the congress, their integration, consolidation and the alternatives worked out by them for the party and the whole country will be the hope for the forthcoming victory. And, perhaps, this last phenomenon will become the decisive one in the future for a correct evaluation of the work and results of the congress.

PRESS REPORTS PZPR CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

LD180934 Warsaw PAP in English 0400 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Jul (PAP)--Newspapers today carry the list of newly elected members of the PUWP authorities: the new Central Committee, the Central Audit Commission and the Central Commission of Party Control.

The fourth day of the 9th congress gets extensive coverage filling both front and inside pages. This includes accounts of the plenary debates, the speeches delivered in the discussion, and reports on the work of 16 task groups.

The congress continues to focus attention of the society all over the country, front page headlines say. Also reported are opinions of foreign media following the course of the congress debates with keen interest, as Polish press correspondents write from several European capitals.

International sections contain dispatches on the coming summit in Ottawa, the situation in Iran and the U.S. President's statement concerning the issue of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The debate of the 9th PUWP Congress is also the subject of commentaries.

Friday was important for the congress debates because the results of the elections to the PUWP CC and the two central commissions were announced on that day and also because the delegates' striving to end the work of the task groups with constructive accomplishments became evident, TRYBUNA LUDU said.

"The new Central Committee was elected of the will of all the PUWP delegates. This satisfied the condition so strongly stressed during the pre-congress discussions. The Central Committee is the democratically elected representation of our party. This one thing alone provides it with confidence which, all of us know, the previous Central Committee lacked in the last period," the PUWP said.

"The Friday congress debates proved once again that this way of focusing the delegates' interest on the most important problems that must be solved passed the test.

"However, it is important exactly for the congress to set out the directions and map out the party's goals and most significant tasks," the daily stressed. "They will define exactly this strategy of the party for the coming period for which all the PUWP links have been waiting.

"An atmosphere of the working discussion, which is often sharp and controversial, prevails in the task groups. This raised the hope that the attainments of the congress groups will be impressive and genuine", TRYBUNA LUDU said.

Commenting on the results of the PUWP central authorities elections, ZYCIN WARSZAWY writes that the new bodies have for the first time been elected in circumstances in which all the principles of electoral democracy were observed. For the first time, till the very end no one could really be sure what names the lists of the elected will include. And for the first time, about the majority of them it is impossible to say more than just--new people.

However, it is not by accident that workers and farmers constitute the largest groups among the Central Committee members. Also, it cannot be by accident that the new Central Committee includes only four hitherto Political Bureau members.

Nothing can change the fact that a new Central Committee has been elected, a central party authority which will be able to assume its party guiding activity free of the burden of the past that overwhelmed the previous authorities.

Everybody is expecting that the line of social agreement, initiated nearly a year ago will be continued, the daily stated.

The society expects from the Central Committee not only immediate action but primarily a clear signal that it intends to be open to the need of the entire society, that it will comprehend the historic, unrepeatable chance Poland is facing, that it will not limit itself to reacting to what is coming from the bottom and often meeting resistance at the top but will emerge to meet the whole of the society.

Now, once the democratic elections are over, the party and its Central Committee in particular will be subjected to a severe social examination. More will be required of these new people than of their predecessors, ZYCIE WARSZAWY assured.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY PUBLISHES PZPR INTERCONGRESS REPORT

AU161520 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 Jul 81 pp 3, 4

[Report on the "PZPR Central Committee Report on the Period Between the Eighth Congress and the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR"]

[Text] The report covers a period of 16 months, from the eighth to the ninth congresses, but for obvious reasons it mainly concentrates on the post-August period. The report does not cover economic problems which were presented in the "Report on the State of the Economy."

The Activity of the PZPR Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat [chapter heading]

In the period since the eighth congress, the Central Committee has held 12 plenary sessions. The accumulation of difficulties and errors resulted in a dramatic conflict in the middle of 1980. The crisis has been building since the mid seventies. Its main source lay in the weakening and disturbed links between the party leadership and the workers class. Substantial distortions occurred in the country's socioeconomic policy. Under mounting difficulties, the leadership that was in power then proved to be unable to work out an appropriate program, and even the existing one was not implemented. The role of the central party echelons--the PZPR Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat--declined.

In the summer of 1980, the workers' protest in the shape of strikes assumed mass, spontaneous proportions. The Central Committee, at its subsequent plenary sessions on 24 August, 30 August and 5 September, made substantial personnel changes in the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat, including in the office of the first secretary. It should be pointed out that the awareness of the need for radical changes in the leadership was shaping slowly, gradually.

The sixth plenum, held in two parts, was of essential significance for settling the social conflict. In the first part on 5 September, a change was made in the office of the first secretary. Stanislaw Kania became first secretary. The causes of the conflict were discussed and analyzed in the second part of the session, on 4-6 October. On the basis of a critical analysis of the events in the country, the need was noted for working out a report on the condition of the state, and a new party program based on the activity and confidence of society. The plenum found it appropriate to convene the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

Highly important for the situation developing in the country, which was drifting toward catastrophe, were long discussions and meetings with workers' aktivs, as well as efforts to restore the credibility of the party. In its activity, the Central Committee endeavored to settle the most pressing political, public, social and economic problems. Much attention was devoted to working out programmatic assumptions for socialist democracy and for consolidating the role of the party; and particularly its place in the struggle for the socialist nature of renewal in the country's social life. The Central Committee came out in favor of the socialist character of trade unions. The essence of the new line was to restore the fundamental values of socialism and the ideological norms of Leninism, to consolidate the positions of the workers' class, and to restore the socialist principles of morality. The Central Committee acted in a difficult, crisis situation. For that reason it was not always able to run the party properly. The proceedings of plenary sessions and the work performed by members of the central authorities and of the Central Committee's problem commissions could be regarded as an example of that.

(The document continues referring to the agenda and proceedings of subsequent Central Committee plenums and to personal decisions adopted at them.)

In the period under review (until 10 June 1981), the Politburo held a total of 100 sessions, including 30 sessions from the eighth congress to 5 September 1980. The sessions were held every week to discuss various problems concerning the party, state and people.

The decisions adopted on those issues were not fully implemented, and there was no control over the implementation. There was the growing conviction that a decision worked out and written down would somehow automatically be translated into reality.

Since the sixth plenum, the Central Committee Politburo held 70 sessions, primarily to analyze and assess the current political situation and socioeconomic and internal party problems. Politburo sessions were held regularly every week. The need for urgent decisions fitting the changing conditions shaped a new style of work. The Politburo reached common settlements and decisions in open and comprehensive discussions, taking into account various points of view. Central Committee secretaries and Secretariat members were always invited to Politburo sessions along with persons interested in the items discussed, and that made it possible to discuss the point in a more intense way. In the opinion of party members, the Politburo was not always ahead of the events, and some decisions were adopted too late.

A system of links between the Politburo and party organizations was shaped, and Politburo members participated in the meetings of basic party organizations, in voivodship committee sessions and in accountability and election conferences. However, the contact of members of the leadership, particularly with organizations at large enterprises, was insufficient, a problem that was noted at the ninth plenum. Those contacts have significantly improved in preparations for the congress.

An important place in the work of the Central Committee Politburo, Secretariat and local echelons belonged to preparations for the ninth extraordinary congress. At the Sixth Central Committee Plenum, Stanislaw Kania moved to convene the congress earlier than provided for by the statutes. The precongress campaign and the discussion on the assumptions for the ninth congress have invigorated party activity and directed it toward realizing the effects of the crisis and overcoming them, toward the search for realistic ways for the country's development.

In the work of the central party echelon, an important place belonged to issues concerning economic and social politics. As a result of the steps taken, the Commission for the Issues of Economic Reform, set up by the Central Committee Politburo and the government Presidium, worked out a draft economic reform and draft measures to stabilize the economy. Along with the United Peasant Party Supreme Committee Presidium, the party worked out joint guidelines for a new agrarian policy. Along with the Democratic Party Central Committee, the PZPR Central Committee Politburo adopted theses for promoting small-scale production and crafts.

Changes in the Number and Socioprofessional Composition of the Party

In the period under review, the number and socioprofessional composition of party ranks have changed. Two phases are to be set apart. In the first phase, which encompassed the first half of 1980, the policy of rapidly expanding party ranks was continued.

The erroneous evaluation of the political and ideological situation in the party, the stake on a forced numerical expansion and, as a consequence of this, the departure from principled qualitative criteria in enrolling new candidates resulted in the organizational weakening of the party, as well as in decreased activity and ability for action in many basic PZPR organizations.

In the second phase, after the July and August events, the numerical growth of the party was sharply curtailed.

From 1 January to 3 June 1980, 106,000 candidate PZPR members were enrolled, and at the same time 26,000 persons left the party ranks. In the period from 1 July 1980 to 15 June 1981, the analogous figures were 28,600 and 308,600.

The fact that outflow from the party increased after June 1980 more than tenfold was connected with the surrender of party cards and the increased demands presented by basic party organizations to party members and candidate members.

After July 1980, the phenomenon of surrendering party cards assumed large proportions. The resignations from party membership had various reasons, but the crisis that engulfed the party and the whole country undoubtedly provided grounds for it. In the period from 1 August 1980 to 15 May 1981, party cards were returned by 197,300 party members and candidate members, or 6.3 percent of the party's numerical strength recorded on 1 July 1980. Workers amounted to about 72 percent of those returning party cards.

The Accountability and Election Campaign in the PZPR

The accountability and election campaign in the party began at the end of 1980. An important part in preparing for it consisted in drawing up new, democratic electoral principles taking into account the majority of proposals presented by party organizations. The provisional regulations for the election of PZPR governing bodies and delegates, endorsed by the Ninth Central Committee Plenum, provided for the general practice of balloting, for presenting an unrestricted number of candidates, as well as for electing people to governing bodies primarily from the delegates. The overwhelming majority of the meetings and conferences held elections on the basis of those principles, although many of them modified the regulations or adopted their own electoral principles on the basis of them. There were moves contradicting the basic regulations, for example in the election of delegates. The Ninth Central Committee Plenum found such moves to be invalid and emphasized that it was impermissible to restrict the passive electoral right.

In this year's campaign, electoral problems and procedural issues connected with them played an extremely important role and frequently were predominant at meetings and conferences as a whole. In the political climate in which the campaign was held, a climate of bitterness with regard to the former party leadership and of lack of confidence in many figures performing party functions then was only natural. Hence, the trend to elect new comrades. As a result of that, the composition of party governing bodies has, to a large degree, been renewed. At the same time, that trend occasionally resulted in eliminating many honest, experienced comrades, and in upsetting the proportion between the principle of rotation and the need for the necessary continuity. The share of workers in party governing bodies and among delegates is relatively small. The electoral atmosphere at many meetings and conferences was not favorable for a deeper consideration to provide the basic classes and social groups with appropriate representation. That adversely affected first of all the election of the appropriate workers' representation among delegates at all levels, as well as in the governing bodies of party organizations and echelons. Notwithstanding all those defects, the general results of the elections are to be evaluated as positive. Active comrades enjoying great prestige in their circles have been elected to governing bodies and as delegates.

The problems most discussed at the meetings and conferences were: the situation in the party, the problem of the acute economic crisis in the country, the settling of accounts, and specific local questions.

In most proposals presented, the need was voiced to rapidly work out a program for party activity, emphasizing that this would enable the party to rapidly recover credibility and consolidate its leading role, and that a political program was a necessary condition to overcoming the crisis situation in the economy.

In the discussion, particularly after the 11th Central Committee Plenum, the need was emphasized to fight the dangers to socialism and the growing social anarchy. The need was indicated to apply justified legal measures to the opponents of socialism whose actions were going against the system and our country's international alliances, and who were fomenting social tension by means of irresponsible and aggressive propaganda in illegal publications, leaflets and so forth. The assessments contained in the letter by the CPSU Central Committee were received with concern and understanding. The cases of hostile anti-Soviet activity met with sharp condemnation.

During the campaign, a total of 600,000 executive members of basic and shop party organizations were elected, including about 100,000 first secretaries of basic and shop party organizations. Executive bodies in basic and shop party organizations are comprised of 39 percent workers, 10 percent peasants and 46 percent office workers. Those elected for the first time amount to 50 percent.

Among first secretaries in basic and shop party organizations, 32 percent are workers, 15 percent are peasants, and 50 percent are office workers. Each second secretary was elected for the first time.

The factory and institution conferences elected 45,000 members of factory committees, including 42 percent workers and 54 percent office workers. Factory committee members elected for the first time make up 60 percent of the total.

Among the members of the 2,359 first-level party echelons, workers comprise 23 percent, peasants 20 percent, officer workers 51 percent, and those elected for the first time 52 percent.

The Party Apparatus: Cadre Policy

In the total number of political workers in the party apparatus, workers of local echelons make up 93.1 percent: 31.9 percent of them are employed in voivodship committees, 54.0 percent in city, district, urban commune and commune committees, and 14.1 percent in committees at enterprises, institutions and higher schools. The Central Committee apparatus amounts to 5.1 percent of political workers of the party apparatus.

In the period from the Sixth Central Committee Plenum to the end of May, necessary changes were made in the composition of the party apparatus, and particularly in the leading staff of party echelons at all levels. In particular, the changes affected about 60 percent of voivodship committee first secretaries, about 40 percent of department secretaries in voivodship committees, and more than 30 percent of chairmen of voivodship party control commissions. Further changes were made at the voivodship level at voivodship accountability and election conferences.

The process of integrating the work of the apparatus with that of commissions and the party's social aktivs is now in progress. At the same time, there is a trend in the apparatus to move away from narrow departmental parochialism [waska resortowosc] prompted by the to-date conception of departments. That process is favored by the guidelines adopted by the Central Committee Politburo in April 1981 with regard to the role and most immediate tasks of the party apparatus. That document puts the main emphasis on the service [sluzebna] role of the party apparatus in relation to party echelons and organizations. At the same time, it assumes that the activity of the party apparatus as a whole, its structure and the principles of its functioning, will be defined after the ninth extraordinary party congress.

The party apparatus draws its staff from all basic social groups. It is mainly composed of young people, both in age and in length of service in the apparatus. About 40 percent of them are under 35 years of age, and nearly half have under 4 years of service in the apparatus.

The continuing crisis has shown that one of the weakest spots in the functioning of the apparatus lay in the fact that its attention was focused on undertakings frequently duplicating, to the detriment of the party's ideological and political work, the work of the state administration. In particular, that resulted from shortcomings in the political training of a significant part of the party apparatus.

Since the eighth congress, and particularly after the Sixth Central Committee Plenum, significant cadre reshuffles have taken place in the state and economic administration, following the Sixth Central Committee Plenum "nomenklatura." The point of significance is that, prior to adopting the cadre decisions, as a rule, the opinion was sought of the basic party organizations concerned, and the appropriate labor collectives were advised.

Ideological and Propaganda Activity [chapter heading]

Political Educational Work

In the period between the congresses, the party's ideoeducational activity was affected both by the growing divergence between the real state of consciousness in society and in party ranks and the general image of that consciousness presented by the eighth party congress, as well as by the state of ideological activity in the PZPR.

The theses drawn up by the eighth congress for political educational work were marked by the errors committed in that work in the seventies. That particularly applied to the thesis about the allegedly attained moral and political unity of the people. That idea obscured in essence the evaluation of the Polish social reality from class positions. Ideopolitical work continued to be affected by simplifications in the apprehension of the links between the base and the superstructure, and in extreme cases that results in spreading consumer attitudes. The awareness that the propaganda success could not be continued was growing, but no new and effective propaganda line was drawn up to enhance a dialogue between the authorities and society.

A number of theses for political educational work remained correct. In particular, that applied to tasks concerning the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the image of the contemporary development of democracy and the shaping of patriotism and proletarian internationalism. However, those theses, while officially correct, were not used as a basis for correct practice in the sphere of sociopolitical relations and economic decisions. The concealment of inconvenient facts and phenomena, disregard for the need for honest information, and the practice of imposing one-sided assessments and interpretations with regard to matters of vital importance to the country added to distortions in the sphere of ideology. Also, the value of Marxist-Leninist theoretical thought was disregarded in the process of decisionmaking. A political crisis was building up which was not a crisis of ideological values, but primarily a crisis of poor practices in implementing the idea of socialism.

At its sixth and seventh plenums, the PZPR Central Committee adopted the line of agreement and renewal, assuming that the social conflict should be settled by political means and that this settlement should bring about social and political reforms. That political line has met with general support in party masses. However, the developments following the sixth plenum failed to create an atmosphere favorable for constructive activity. The authorities, particularly the state executive bodies, were increasingly expected, in their functioning, to consolidate public order and discipline, and at the same time to expand the scope for public initiatives in overcoming the crisis and in implementing the social agreements concluded. Those expectations of the public have not been met.

In the period under review, the party masses continued to distrust and criticize their echelons and apparatus. The critical attitude was particularly marked among the large number of party members who are active in Solidarity and who are under the strong influence of Solidarity leadership and its advisers. At the same time, such a situation aroused certain fears among echelons and in the apparatus and slowed down their political activities.

The task of deepening and spreading the interpretation of key problems concerning ideological life, particularly of those emerging in the process of socialist renewal and in the struggle against threats to it, has been found to be the most important.

The ideological struggle against the manifestations of extreme positions and views in party ranks has been found to be a task of supreme importance. In ideoeducational activities intended for the whole society, the line has been consolidated of invigorating the forces of common sense and responsibility and of enhancing the links of alliance among them.

Groups of the enemies of socialism participated in the social processes which are still going on. While influencing public opinion with some success, they based their activity on the moods of discontent existing in society. As a result of their tactics of partial objectives, outwardly coinciding with public aspirations, party members at enterprises were poorly aware of the political struggle in progress and of the dangers arising from that activity. In particular, they failed to see the aspirations of adversaries to weaken the internal cohesion of the party and to undermine the principles of democratic centralism and ideological foundations.

Sectors of the ideological front participated in the struggle against the enemies of socialism, trying primarily to reveal their intentions, the facts about their activity and the character of their leaders by means of publications and the channels of internal party information.

The inspiration and organization of ideopolitical and educational work in society, with the participation of sociopolitical organizations within the Front of National Unity, constituted an important element in party activity as a whole.

The activity of the Front of National Unity, of the youth and women's movements, of many public organizations, including the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, the Society for Popularization of Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of Law Culture, has concentrated on disseminating the decisions of successive PZPR Central Committee Plenums and on specifying tasks for individual social groups.

In preparing for the congress, pains were taken to draw appropriate conclusions from the experiences of the sectors of the ideological front. For example, critical consideration must be given to such problems as the clarity of party documents, the style and language of decisions and speeches, the rejection of formalism, and the restoration of authentic dialogues and discussions in party life.

Theoretical Research Activity

As a party scientific research institution of the Central Committee, the Institute of the Fundamental Problems of Marxism-Leninism works in the sphere of Marxist-Leninist theory and the theory of the party, and carries out empirical research into the key sociopolitical problems of the country.

In recent times, the institute concentrated primarily on preparing for the ninth congress, and worked on expert opinions and analyses for the needs of the Central Committee.

In its theoretical work, the institute concentrated on the party's ideological problems and on disseminating Marxist-Leninist theory.

Within the framework of preparations for the ninth party congress, the institute prepared the following paper: The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress as a Congress of Social Renewal and of Reform in the Economy and the State. That paper has been presented to the Congress Commission. Empirical research has been undertaken into the opinion of party members about the topics of internal party and public life.

The institute participates in the work of the Commission for the Economic Reform and prepares assessments and expert opinions for the needs of the latter.

In the sphere of problems concerning the theory of the party and its ideological activity, the institute prepared a number of expert opinions, materials, documents and articles.

A report has been prepared on research into the subject of "Public Opinions About the Country's Topical Problems." Of importance are the institute's initiatives in the sphere of the party's ideoeducational activity. Within the framework of those initiatives, the institute organized, in particular, a scientific conference on the subject: "Lenin's Ideas as a Basis for Friendship, Cooperation and Alliance Between Poland and the USSR." Along with the Ideoeducational Work Department, it held a conference on the subject: "The 26th CPSU Congress: Problems Concerning the Theory and Practice of Developing Socialism."

The institute continued cooperation with party scientific institutes in the socialist countries, particularly in the USSR.

In the new, complex situation of the party, the institute has been confronted with the task of concentrating on the theory of Marxism-Leninism and on the basic problems serving the current practice of the party, its theoretical bases, its place and role in society and socialist changes in the political system. That is the goal to which the institute subordinates its scientific research work.

The Activity of the Mass Media

In the period since the Eighth PZPR Congress, the Central Committee concentrated its activities primarily on the following points: to streamline the circulation of information, to improve cooperation with the journalists' circles, and to invigorate and enrich the work of party organizations in editorial boards and press publishing houses.

While implementing the task of improving journalist cadres, in the first half of 1980 a periodic assessment was made of the work performed by journalists engaged in the enterprise and technical press. Steps were taken to assess leading cadres in the press, radio and television.

Following the eighth congress, an analysis and sociological research were carried out with regard to the cadre situation in Polish journalism and work was done to improve the distribution of party cadres on editorial boards.

In the period under review, the formation of voivodship-level party weeklies has for the most part been completed. However, difficulties in paper supplies to the press publishing market have become aggravated, and that made it necessary to restrict for the time being the volume and circulation of the press.

The atmosphere and situation in journalist circles significantly affects party activity in the mass media as a whole. Deviations from the socialist theory of propaganda, occurring for many years, and particularly the persistent so-called propaganda of success, have seriously affected that party activity in its present shape.

As a result of that, following the August events, expiatory moods in journalist circles had become very strong, while ideological views had weakened. That phenomenon made itself particularly palpable at the extraordinary congress of the union of Polish journalists.

Under specific political circumstances, the imperative instruments used until now by the party to control the press, radio and television have proven to be ineffective. On the other hand, the attempts made by the Press, Radio and Television Department of the PZPR Central Committee and some voivodship-level echelons to provide new means of influence failed to produce the expected effects. As a result of that, opinions presented in the press, radio and television have become unstable. Also, antiparty and antisocialist statements have emerged. The 11th Central Committee Plenum set new tasks for party control over the mass media.

Party Activities in Favor of Socialist Democracy and Self-Government

The eighth congress resolutions recognized the further development and improvement of the system of the institutions of socialist democracy and the efforts to raise their effectiveness and functioning as the most important tasks in strengthening the socialist state.

In its resolutions the party has always stressed the need for activization of the Sejm and People's Councils in carrying out their functions. In recent years the work of the Sejm commissions has been enlivened and the role of the Sejm, especially its legislative functions, has become noticeably enhanced. However, the people felt that the Sejm and People's Councils had not fulfilled their tasks satisfactorily in the past because in the practice of state management and activity the administrative-executive bodies dominated the representative bodies. That was so because of the defective implementation of the party's leading role toward the state and its functioning. The party's line was often translated into the language of state policy, mainly through the mediation of the administration and not through representative bodies. Favorable conditions to reverse that situation appeared only as a result of socialist renewal. The measures sponsored by the PZPR seek to ensure that the Sejm and People's Councils genuinely fulfill their constitutional role in realizing the idea of people's power.

The policy of socialist renewal once again reaffirmed the need for activities to ensure for the Sejm permanent conditions to fully implement its authoritative, legal and control powers, which are included in the Constitution.

On the initiative of the party leadership, the deputies' clubs of the PZPR, the ZSL and the Democratic Party brought in last October a law that restored the Supreme Chamber of Control to its position as the supreme body of control directly subordinated to the Sejm. Thus the Sejm gained a source of information that is independent of the government --a source especially crucial for implementing the Sejm's control functions and for evaluating government activities.

On the motion of the deputies' clubs of the PZPR, the ZSL and the Democratic Party last November, the Sejm changed its regulations to expand the powers of the Sejm's bodies and deputies.

In the same way many crucial changes were carried out with regard to the People's Councils, in keeping with the sixth plenum resolutions. Those changes included the decision to abandon the practice of automatically combining the function of the first secretary of a party organization with that of the chairman of a People's Council. Viewing the resignations of first secretaries as chairmen [of the People's Councils], the sessions of 46 voivodship People's Councils and 1,159 basic People's Councils elected other functionaries from among their councillors as their chairmen. This is the breakdown of the newly elected chairmen:

The chairmen of the voivodship People's Councils include 25 PZPR members, 9 ZSL members, 3 Democratic Party members and 9 nonparty people.

PZPR members account for 53.7 percent, ZSL members for 31.8 percent, Democratic Party members for 4.1 percent and nonparty people for 10.4 percent of the chairmen of the basic People's Councils.

The Sixth and Seventh Central Committee Plenums agreed that it is necessary to improve the legal bases for the activities of the local representative bodies, in order to create better conditions for the implementation by them of the current and long-term aims of the socialist state. That will be done by a new law on People's Councils, that will extensively tackle the issues of inhabitants' self-government groups. That law will be subjected to extensive social consultation.

Following the Sixth Central Committee Plenum, 26 voivodas and 36 deputy voivodas were replaced in 35 voivodships. The opinion of the People's Council is now decisive in appointing people to leading positions in the administration.

During the period under review, especially following the Sixth Central Committee Plenum, much attention was paid to improving political cooperation with the ZSL and the Democratic Party.

In December 1980 the PZPR Politburo as well as the ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium and the Democratic Party Central Committee Presidium adopted a declaration of cooperation among the PZPR, the ZSL and the Democratic Party. The declaration defined the principles of party cooperation as completely partnerlike and ones that make allowances for the ZSL's and the Democratic Party's independent participation in drawing up and implementing the program for developing socialist Poland. Those principles were reaffirmed by the programmatic documents adopted by the Eighth ZSL Congress and the 12th Democratic Party Congress.

The PZPR Politburo and the ZSL Presidium adopted a program on the key issues of agricultural policy. In the same way--together with the Democratic Party Presidium--a stand was taken on developing services and small-scale production.

The transformation of the consultative commissions into commissions for cooperation between the party and the allied party attests to a more expanded cooperation and to its more comprehensive character. The scope of the subjects and frequency of the sessions of the commissions at all levels was greatly increased. This year commissions for cooperation on the basic level have been established. At present they exist in 85 percent of basic units.

In the period following the eighth party congress, the Central Committee, the local party levels and the local party organizations took many measures to strengthen ties between the young generation and the party, and to stimulate that generation's social and economic activity.

The increasing difficulties and the forms of work with young people, which had been wrong in the past, did not make it possible to achieve the appointed aims. The divergency between the young generation's aspirations and the opportunities to fulfill them, and the discord between the proclaimed programs and actual practice caused progressive acuteness of the young people's economic, social and political problems. The dissatisfaction with the party's policy and the bitterness over the principle of social policy increased. The progressive divergencies between the ideals of socialism and social practice were some of the main reasons for the extensive participation of the young generation, especially the young workers class, in the August events. For the first time in postwar Poland the young generation--while not negating socialism--came out in a significant manner against deviations from socialism's norms and principles.

The tendency to administer the youth movement and to substitute command methods for political work also met with general criticism. The youth organizations were also subjected to harsh criticism for programmatic errors, for a formalistic style of work and for insufficient expression of the young generation's broadly conceived interests. The federation of socialist unions of Polish youth, which became the institutional form of cooperation among youth organizations, was dissapproved of.

The youth movement became in the post-August period the arena of political struggle for its ideological principles, character and program.

Side by side with the existing unions--such as the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, the Polish Scout Union and the Socialist Union of Polish Students--there were established the Union of Rural Youth, the Democratic Youth Union and the Independent Student Association.

The activity of the latter has given rise to controversies. Current practice has shown that the association has adopted an antiparty platform and that its political actions are directed against socialism, in spite the principles of the association's statutes.

The Central Committee and the local party levels and organizations devoted much attention in an extremely complicated situation to the problems of the young generation.

On the initiative of the Politburo a report was worked out on the conditions of young people's start in life and vocation. The Central Committee established a commission for young people's problems from among the members of the party's central echelon. At its sessions the commission analyzed the key problems of the young generation and the youth movement and evaluated the relevant materials earmarked for the ninth party congress.

All the communities of the women's movement are actively participating in the country's changes connected with the development and constructive implementation of socialist renewal. The issues tackled by those communities concern general social affairs and a new approach to the role and tasks of women's organizations and their entire movement.

All women's communities are concerned about the elimination of women from various posts in the political, social and economic spheres. The refusal to accept and to put forward women's candidatures for posts in the ruling bodies of social, economic, political and party organizations is causing regress in the women's militant participation in all walks of social and political life of the country.

The eighth party congress preserved the previous sociopolitical role and place of trade unions in Poland, promoting their participation in the process of improving work organization, raising work productivity, enhancing work safety and increasing social order and discipline, but not strengthening their principal function of safeguarding the working people's interests.

The fact that the working people largely refused to accept the trade union organization and that most trade union bodies were unable to take a stand on the July-August conflict, became a reason for the demand that new trade unions be established, responding to the expectations of a large section of the workers class, namely in the coastal areas, the Fifth Central Committee Plenum agreed to the establishment of independent, self-governing trade unions.

That agreement meant that diverse organizational structures were accepted without violating the political unity guaranteed by the signatories to the accords, which promised that the new trade union's activities would not violate the principles of the socialist system, including the PZPR's leading role and Poland's socialist alliances.

That began the process of organizing the NSZZ Solidarity and of deep changes in the branch trade unions, in addition to which the so-called autonomous trade unions were established. At the same time that process was accompanied by a sharp struggle for the bases of members, which was one of the reasons for the lack of constructive cooperation among individual trade unions.

Before its organizational disruption, the Polish trade union movement totaled 13.6 million members (including 1.4 million recipients of pensions) organized in 23 branch trade unions under the umbrella of the Central Trade Union Council. At present about 100 trade unions are active in three main trade union groups.

The branch trade unions total over 5 million members (including recipients of pensions). They continue their process of renewal and deep democratic changes, which began last September. They effected basic changes in the statutes and radical changes in personnel. Preserving their ideological tenets, which accept the socialist line of the country's social development, and recognizing the PZPR's leading role, the branch trade unions embraced the principle of genuine self-government and independence. Most Branch Trade Unions are members of the Branch Trade Union Consultative Commission.

The PZPR Central Committee declared its full support for the branch trade unions as a genuine representation of workers that carries on the traditions of the class trade union movement and that now participates in the process of socialist renewal.

The NSZZ Solidarity is the largest organization of the trade union movement and is a rallying point for most socialized economy employees. The community of the workers class working and living in large industrial centers is Solidarity's main base of members. Solidarity is now in the midst of its election campaign, of developing organizational structures and of working out ideological-political and programmatic tenets. It is an area of clashes of various social ideas and trends, which are exerting an influence on Solidarity's ideology. It is a plan of political struggle for one's attitude toward Poland's sociopolitical system. The PZPR Central Committee has sought to create conditions for developing and consolidating Solidarity's socialist achievements and has not concealed its serious concern for Solidarity's political development on the models created by the declared adversaries of socialism.

The autonomous trade unions are a rallying point for some thousands of members in 77 newly established trade unions--national and local. They are a rallying point for the people of certain vocations, professions, milieus and branches. Most of their members are people from outside material production. Harking back to the trade union traditions existing during the initial period of the trade union in People's Poland, the autonomous trade unions were established in the conviction that the interests of individual vocations, professions and milieus should be represented by separate professional organizations. Most of the Autonomous Trade Unions function independently, and over 20 trade unions are active in the Autonomous Trade Union Confederation.

During the accountability period under review the PZPR Central Committee was unable to work out the necessary future forms for cooperation with the Central Trade Union bodies representing all trends and orientations.

As yet there is no cooperation especially at the national level, among various factions of the trade union movement.

At its eighth plenum the Central Committee gave a political evaluation of the Polish trade union movement and laid down the party's tasks in fostering the trade unions' socialist character. That plenum reaffirmed that safeguarding employee interests and taking care of the work forces' working and living conditions are an inalienable right of the trade unions. It also stated the party's position to the effect that an effective defense of the working people's interests requires that trade unions constructively participate in overcoming the socioeconomic crisis and directly help to increase the national income. The Central Committee reaffirmed the principle that the trade union movement is self-governing the independent vis-a-vis administrative bodies.

Trade unions have been ensured an extensive scope of powers based on the principle of bilateral, partnerlike relations with the administration. On the Politburo's initiative, government-trade union contacts have been given an institutional character, as attested to by the establishment of the Council of Ministers Committee for Cooperation with Trade Unions.

At its ninth plenum the Central Committee reaffirmed those basic principles of the party's policy toward trade unions. At the same time, the party expressed its great concern for and opposition to the manipulation of NSZZ Solidarity by forces alien to workers' interests and to the practice of using Solidarity organizations and functionaries as forces of pressure and destruction directed against the socialist state, the Marxist-Leninist party and our allies. The Central Committee stressed the need to give more effective support to and to create the necessary climate for developing and strengthening branch trade unions.

The Eighth PZPR Congress resolutions obligated party levels and organizations as well as state bodies to take effective action to raise our society's legal standards and to fully adhere to the rule of law. It also enjoined them to create socially advantageous conditions for a more effective performance of the prosecuting organs, courts, militia, security service and voluntary militia. These tasks have not been fully implemented. The present crisis has been responsible for a drastic lowering of social discipline and for deteriorated public order. In particular, there has been a distinct increase in the number of serious crimes such as assaults against public order organs and violations of the laws to the detriment of the state interests and the citizens' security. The cases of openly flouting the law have greatly increased.

The threat to many areas of the national economy caused by criminal activities has also increased recently. Speculation and price and weight swindles are increasing, against the background of the absence of market balance.

Antisocialist activities, including the publication and circulation of anti-Soviet brochures and leaflets, anti-Soviet propaganda, the slanders leveled against the leading cadres and the illegal use of printing equipment, especially in enterprises, have become a particularly dangerous problem. This situation calls for extraordinary and energetic measures to bring back the rule of law, especially to protect the security of the state and its citizens and to counter hostile propaganda, anarchy and license. It is necessary for our citizens to create a social climate in which the bodies responsible for public order, crime detection and the administration of justice can function normally.

Although the eighth party congress line broke down, it is necessary to state that, in its general tenets, the policy regarding religion did create conditions for the practical observance of the principles of freedom of conscience and confession and the principle of separation of church and state.

The implementation of those principles made it possible for the state and the church to cooperate in many areas of importance for the people.

Religious policy was very useful in helping preserve national unity and in solving or alleviating some burgeoning social and moral problems.

The events of last August did not put in question the justice of the present religious policy, but they placed new problems before it, issuing from the current sociopolitical changes in the country.

While listing the principles of the alliance of the forces of reason and of patriotic responsibility for taking the country out of its crisis, the Sixth Central Committee Plenum resolutions at the same time created conditions for the genuine participation in that alliance of the church and believers. The church has great opportunities to participate in strengthening internal stability and the people's moral-social values.

In recent weeks the state authorities have done much to greatly expand various planes of cooperation between the state and the church. The joint commission is playing an important role in that regard, and the party supports its line of activities. However, it is impossible not to see that some clergy and lay Catholic functionaries seek to violate the constitutional principles of the separation of church and state and freedom of conscience. A lay character of the state is not only an imperative of its modern organization, but also a guarantee of the freedom of conscience and of the equality of all confessions.

Preparations for the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress--The Central Congress Commission's Activity

The decisions to convene for the first time in the party's history an extraordinary congress of the PZPR--the ninth congress--were of crucial significance for taking measures to overcome the current crisis.

At its sixth plenum on 5 September 1980--almost immediately following the end of the most acute surge of the strike conflict--the Central Committee outlined its proposal to justify the desirability of such a congress. The proposal, which was developed during the second session of the sixth party plenum, was given specific support by the entire party. The 10th Central Committee Plenum fixed the specific date of the congress' first day--14 July 1981.

Beginning with the seventh plenum, which appointed the congress commission, an extensive and lively discussion was promoted throughout the party to evaluate the reasons for the crisis and ways to overcome it. All party organizations and levels as well as party members took active part in creating a new party program and in giving concrete shape to the line of socialist renewal. The party debates produced thousands of proposals, views, motions and elaborations, which were used in the work on congress documents.

The congress commission, which totals 218 party aktivists representing all social-professional communities and all the country's regions, has played a particular role in congress preparations, especially in drawing up congress documents. The commission has nine problems teams, whose work has been supported by party aktivists--various specialists in science, economics and social life--side by side with commission members.

The commission has held four plenary sessions and some scores of team sessions and has examined all the materials it has received from party bodies, organizations and members. It has also held consultations in large industrial and university organizations on the preliminary version of materials, has organized a number of sessions and conferences to discuss selected topics and, on the strength of all that, has submitted to the party the basic documents for the ninth congress: the programmatic tenets of developing socialist democracy, of strengthening the PZPR's role in building socialism and of stabilizing the country's socioeconomic situation, as well as draft changes in and additions to the PZPR statutes.

All the voivodship committees and many urban, rural parish and enterprise party bodies have established precongress teams. The entire party's creative participation in producing congress materials has found its expression in the establishment and activities of diverse discussion clubs and organized forms of cooperation among party organizations in various communities.

The issues of the party, the functioning of the party in keeping with Leninist norms, and the institutional guarantees of internal party democracy occupied an important place in the precongress discussion, and this is included in the PZPR statutes.

The draft [party] statutes to be submitted to the ninth congress include the proposals and motions that strengthen the fundamental principles of the functioning of the PZPR as a party that follows the theory of Marxism-Leninism, uses it creatively in keeping with the country's conditions and needs, relies on the Leninist principles of democracy and discipline, continues the traditions of the Polish workers revolutionary movement and is loyal to the ideals of patriotism and internationalism.

The actual changes [in the statutes] seek to democratize party relations and to create guarantees that ensure that Leninist principles and norms are observed in party life.

The discussion on developing the party's ideological life was focused on the following issues: the program and organizational model of ideoeducational work, the creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory, the social organizations' educational tasks, internal party information and training, and the role and place of the mass media in fostering society's ideological and political attitudes.

The proposals produced during the discussions concerned mainly the task of strengthening the party's leading role, interparty cooperation, as well as the role and tasks of the National Unity Front, the Sejm, the people's councils and social and state control bodies. Participants in the discussions stressed the need for developing self-government groups run by workers, rural areas, cooperative organizations and tenants [mieszkancy] for promoting trade unionism and for improving party work with trade unions and social organizations.

Much attention was devoted to the functioning of the state's legal system, to ensuring the implementation of the principles of social justice and to the issues of social policy and the development of trade unionism.

The issues of the country's economic development and of the economic reform--these issues we discussed in the context of an analysis of the reasons for the crisis and of an evaluation of the current state of the economy and of the conditions for overcoming the crisis--were especially reflected in the congress commission's work, in keeping with social expectations. The issues of agriculture and of food for the people were given much attention. The congress commission also analyzed the proposals and postulates concerning the cultural, scientific and educational issues and gave much attention to the problems of the young generation. The commission stressed most strongly the need to enrich the program for national education with intensified knowledge of history, which is necessary if patriotic and internationalist attitudes are to be fostered.

The precongress discussion, which provided the background for the commission's work, was also marked by crucial deliberations devoted to the stability of the principles of Polish foreign policy and to the role of efforts to strengthen the bonds of friendship, cooperation and alliance with the USSR and with the parties and peoples of the socialist community states as well as cooperation with all states for the sake of consolidating detente and peace.

In its work on [congress] tenets the commission took note of the universally emphasized position of the party organization to the effect that it is necessary to demonstrate the destructive role of the West's imperialist and revisionist circles seeking to halt the process of detente and to take Europe to the road of cold war and confrontation.

The commission paid special attention to the need to make obvious to all Poles the dangers resulting from the activity of the antisocialist forces, which try to undermine Poland's territorial integrity, weaken its ties with the fraternal socialist states and exploit our socioeconomic difficulties to promote their own aims.

During the precongress discussion, all party organizations, bodies and members were able to air their views on the draft documents drawn up by the congress commission. The party debates have produced thousands of proposals, views, motions and elaborations which will be used for drawing up congress materials.

The Party's International Activity

The implementation of the Seventh PZPR Congress resolutions on foreign policy proceeded in conditions of a worsening climate in East-West relations and of increasing threats to the peaceful coexistence of states with different socioeconomic systems, coexistence based on the right of all states and peoples to equal security.

The NATO states' consistent and ever intensified attempts to achieve one-sided military superiority lead to undermining the principles of peaceful coexistence that were adopted by 35 European states, the United States and Canada in the CSCE Final Act. Revisionist circles also try to question the ultimate character and inviolability of the Polish borders that were established in Potsdam along the Odra and Nysa rivers and the Baltic and that were recognized by the FRG on 7 December 1970.

The peaceful initiatives that have been put forward by the USSR and the entire socialist camp and that seek to limit nuclear and conventional armaments and to protect humanity against a nuclear catastrophe, have not been responded to by the Western states. The threat of a new stage in the arms race, which imperialism is trying to impose on the socialist countries, is increasing. Imperialism refuses to come to terms with detente and with the nations' resolution to make independent decisions on their own fates. The NATO decisions to deploy additional nuclear missiles in central Europe should be viewed as particularly dangerous. They are a direct threat to Poland's security.

In the period since the Eighth PZPR Congress the rate and scope of our party's international cooperation have been somewhat weakened, because it has been necessary to focus the party's attention on domestic problems, mainly those connected with the crisis that began with the events last July and August.

The party's international activities in the period under review have improved the presentation and interpretation of Polish problems to other parties.

The fraternal European parties' meeting in Paris in April 1980, which was convened on the initiative of the PZPR and the PCF, was an important event in the international communist and workers movement. The meeting's appeal for peace and disarmament is a plea to all progressive forces in Europe to cooperate in solving those most important issues of our continent and the entire world.

Relations With Communist Parties in Socialist Countries

Relations with the CPSU were of particularly great importance for interparty cooperation in the period under review. Following the sixth party plenum, the PZPR leadership maintained direct contact with the CPSU leadership. Among other things, a meeting was held between PZPR First Secretary S. Kania and CPSU General Secretary L. Brezhnev (October 1980): Talks were held between the PZPR delegation that participated in the 26th CPSU Congress and the CPSU leadership, and M. Suslov and A. Gromyko had talks with the PZPR Politburo.

The December Moscow meeting of the leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact and the Sofia meeting of the heads of the governments of the CEMA countries were of crucial significance for the PZPR and the development of its activities.

Comrade S. Kania, PZPR first secretary, also met with Gustav Husak, Erich Honecker and Janos Kadar, leaders of the other fraternal parties.

Following the sixth party plenum, representatives of the PZPR leadership informed the fraternal parties of the socialist countries in Europe about those meetings and about PZPR activities.

The fraternal parties are taking a keen interest in the process of renewal in Poland, are showing understanding for the PZPR's action program and are giving us extensive help. At the same time, they have shown concern for the manifestations of anarchy and for attacks against the socialist system in Poland. The PZPR Central Committee received in that spirit the CPSU Central Committee's letter that expressed anxiety about the development of the situation in Poland and about the prospects of the socialist system in our country. The 11th Central Committee Plenum reflected that concern and reaffirmed the PZPR's resolution to take consistent action to defend socialism.

Relations With Communist Parties in Capitalist Countries

Poland's socioeconomic situation has helped to greatly increase the interest of the communist parties in the capitalist countries in the development of events in our country.

The PZPR continued to relay to those communist parties the evaluations drawn up by the successive Central Committee plenums. Numerous bilateral talks were held with representatives of those parties, which were supplied with bulletins, documents and information.

At the same time, the PZPR maintained numerous working contacts with the socialist and social democratic parties on the subjects of detente and disarmament--on the basis of the joint position taken by European communist parties in the Paris appeal.

Relations With Communist Parties and National Liberation Movements in Other Countries

The events in Poland have met with a keen interest in the countries professing socialist orientation and in the developing countries. As far as necessary and possible, we have maintained specific contacts with the communist and vanguard parties and with the national liberation movements of those countries.

TALKS ON DOCKERS' DEMANDS END UNSUCCESSFULLY

LD171544 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1430 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] The third round of talks between the dockers' branch of the National Coordinating Committee of the NSZZ Solidarity and the Government commission has ended unsuccessfully. The main point of contention was the issue of granting dockers who carry out the hardest work preventive-therapeutical holidays and sanatorium holidays after 15 years of work.

In connection with the failure to reach an agreement, the National Coordinating Committee has set 23 July for the beginning of strikes in Polish ports and port enterprises until their end is achieved.

At the same time, the National Coordinating Committee expressed a readiness to continue talks with the government side.

SOLIDARITY NATIONAL CONGRESS TO BE HELD IN FALL

LD171354 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] The NSZZ Solidarity National Congress will be held in Gdansk in two stages on 5-6 September and between 1-3 October of this year. This was decided at a meeting of the National Consultative Committee [KKP] Presidium of NSZZ Solidarity.

During the meeting of the KKP Presidium, the LOT airline committee and the Mazowsze Region executive presented details on situation concerning the conflict over the appointment of the airline's director.

It was stated in a communique that the KKP Presidium has recognized that the problem of workers; self-government is becoming a key issue in the current social situation in the country and called for determined action on the side of both the authorities and trade unions. The KKP Presidium considers that the demands of the workforce are in line with the spirit of the social agreements.

U.S. CONGRESSMEN DISCUSS RELATIONS WITH CEAUSESCU

AU161858 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1740 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 16 Jul (AGERPRES)--The members of the delegation of the Armed Services Committee of the U.S. Congress' House of Representatives, who have recently visited Romania and were received by President Nicolae Ceausescu, imparted to the Bucharest weekly LUME their impressions of the talks and contacts they had here.

Samuel S. Straton, a member of the delegation, stated that he was impressed by the Romanian president's mastering of all details of international politics, and noted that President Ceausescu insisted on the policy of national independence.

In turn, William Dickinson, referring to the Romanian-U.S. economic relations, stressed that there were possibilities of increasing the commerce and developing the Romanian exports to the U.S. He said that would be to mutual benefit, both economically and in point of friendship and goodwill, which we considered to be very important.

JOINT AGRICULTURAL PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH U.S.

AU171842 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 17 Jul (AGERPRES)--A protocol of the Romanian-U.S. working group concerning cooperation in agriculture and trade with farm-food produce was signed in Bucharest on July 17.

The document was signed by Dumitru Vasiliu, director-general in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry of Romania, and by Thomas Hammer, assistant under-secretary in the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

REAGAN THANKS CEAUSESCU FOR CONGRATULATIONS

AU200932 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Jul 81 p 5

[Text] To his excellency Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

Esteemed Mr President,

It was very nice of you to mark our independence anniversary by conveying to us your amiable good wishes.

Your warm sentiments on the close relations between our two countries are appreciated very much.

Sincerely,

[Signed] Ronald Reagan

IRAQI PRESIDENT RECEIVES VICE PREMIER DINCA

AU171936 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Baghdad, 17 Jul (AGERPRES)--The president of the Republic of Iraq, Saddam Husayn received Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister of Romania, now in Baghdad to participate in the festivities marking the 13th anniversary of the Iraqi Revolution of July 17--that country's national day.

The Iraqi leader was conveyed a message from President Nicolae Ceausescu as well as cordial congratulations on the national day of his country. President Saddam Husayn thanked and requested that cordial, friendly greetings be conveyed to President Nicolae Ceausescu.

During the talk, both sides' satisfaction was expressed for the development of relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Iraq, between the Romanian Communist Party and the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, between the Romanian and Iraqi peoples, for the stage of the relations in the political, economic, technological, scientific, cultural and other domains of mutual interest. Highlighted was the determination of the Romanian and Iraqi presidents to consistently work for the deepening and intensification of their countries' cooperation, and particularly for the amplification and diversification of the economic exchanges and cooperation, underlying them on the principles of mutual interests and advantage.

The two countries' wish was highlighted to intensify their cooperation in the international life, at the UN, within the Non-Aligned Movement, the "Group of 77" and other international forums, in the interest of peace, detente, independence and cooperation among all the nations of the world.

The interview, also attended by 'Izzat Ibrahim, vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council, first deputy prime minister, and Hasan 'Ali, member of the Revolutionary Command Council, minister of trade, passed in a cordial, friendly atmosphere of full understanding, mutual esteem and regard.

Received By Ramadan

AU181931 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Baghdad, 18 Jul (AGERPRES)--Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, now in Iraq to participate in the festivities marking the 13th anniversary of the Revolution Day, met Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council, first deputy prime minister of Iraq.

During the interview, the main projects of economic cooperation between Romania and Iraq were analysed, and the stage of negotiations was examined regarding new actions of cooperation in industry, agriculture and transport.

Ion Dinca met 'Amir Mahdi, minister of agriculture, with whom he approached concrete aspects of the Romanian-Iraqi cooperation in research and farm production.

CEAUSESCU GREETS MITTERRAND ON NATIONAL DAY

AU171745 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Jul 81 p 4

[Congratulatory message sent by President Nicolae Ceausescu to French President Francois Mitterrand on France's national day]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic, Elysee Palace, Paris:

On the French Republic's national day I take special pleasure in extending, on behalf of the Romanian people and myself personally, warmest congratulations and sincere wishes for personal happiness and for progress and prosperity to the friendly French people.

On this occasion it also gives me pleasure to stress the positive relations between our countries forged during the rich history of the two peoples and during which, more than once, the Romanian and French were shoulder to shoulder in the struggle to achieve the same lofty ideals of freedom, dignity, peace and progress. In the spirit of those positive traditions and in the spirit of talks conducted together--which I recall with pleasure--we want Romanian-French friendship, cooperation and collaboration to experience, through our joint efforts, even more fruitful development in the future on the basis of full equality of rights, mutual esteem and respect.

I am convinced that by deepening our dialogue and expanding Romanian-French multifaceted cooperation--for which there exist, we believe, great opportunities--we will act fully in keeping with the interests in progress of the two peoples and, at the same time, we will serve the general cause of understanding and cooperation, security and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Verdet Greets French Premier

AU170747 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Jul 81 p 4

[Congratulatory message sent by Romanian Prime Minister Ilie Verdet to French Premier Pierre Mauroy on France's national day]

[Text] Comrade Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the government, has sent a cable to the prime minister of the French Republic, Pierre Mauroy, on that country's national day, extending most sincere congratulations and warm wishes for good health and personal happiness and wishes for well-being and prosperity to the friendly French people. The telegram expresses the conviction that the traditional relations of friendship and fruitful political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation between Romania and France will continue to expand in the interests of the two peoples and of the cause of detente, security and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

NICOLAE GIOSAN RECEIVES MEXICAN PARLIAMENTARIANS

AU171844 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1746 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 17 Jul (AGERPRES)--A useful exchange of experience between Romanian and Mexican parliamentarians was occasioned by the Bucharest interview between the delegation of the commission of deputies of the Chamber of Deputies of the National Congress of the United Mexican States, led by Antonio Huitron Huitron, secretary of the commission for home and constitutional affairs, and Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly of Romania.

Discussed were aspects of the development of the Romanian-Mexican relations of multiple planes, within international organizations included.

CEAUSESCU GREETS COLOMBIAN PRESIDENT TURBAY AYALA

AU200934 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Jul 81 p 5

[Text] To his excellency Mr Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala, president of the Republic of Colombia, Bogota:

On the 171st anniversary of your country's independence, I have the pleasant opportunity of extending to you, on behalf of the Romanian people and myself personally, best wishes for personal health and happiness, and for the friendly Colombian people's success and progress.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

WORLD UNIVERSITY GAMES OPEN IN BUCHAREST

AU181932 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 18 Jul (AGERPRES)--Juan Antonio Samaranch, president of the International Olympic Committee arrived in Bucharest on July 18 in the evening, to participate in the opening festivity of the Summer World University Games of Bucharest.

At the Otopeni Airport, the guest was welcomed by Emil Draganescu, minister of tourism and sports, vice-president of the National Organizing Committee of the Universiade, Marin Dragan, first vice-chairman of the National Council for Physical Education and Sports, chairman of the Romanian Olympic Committee, Alexandru Siperco, member of the IOC Executive Commission. Present were Dr Primo Nebiolo, president of the International University Sports Federation, and other FISU members.

Ceausescu's Opening Address

AU181424 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0730 GMT 18 Jul 81

["Message of the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu, Honorary President of the National Organizing Committee, to the Participants in the Summer World University Games--'81 Universiade'"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 18 Jul (AGERPRES)--I take special pleasure in addressing warm greetings and full success to the thousands of sportspeople participant in the eleventh edition of the Summer World University Games to be held in the capital city of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Through the great number of representative countries as well as through the objectives it sets itself, the "Universiade"--wide-scope international sports contest--is an outstanding event in the life of the young students everywhere, a strong manifestation of their wish to know one another better, to strengthen the friendly and cooperative links on most varied planes.

Under the current circumstances when international situation is getting worse, when the dangers to peace and people's freedom, to all nations' security are amplifying, it is more necessary than ever before for the peoples, the advanced forces everywhere to rally their efforts and cooperate ever closer to halt the dangerous course of events towards confrontation and war, to impose the firm assertion and continuation of the policy of detente, independence, collaboration and peace.

The youths are, through their ideals and aspirations, a huge force of peace and contemporary progress. Through conjugated efforts, the young generation can play a decisive role in the assertion of a new course in international life, can ensure--alongside the other advanced forces of the present-day world--the triumph of the policy of peace and detente, of understanding and fruitful cooperation among nations. We firmly believe in the world youths' capability to secure a happy and free future, to find most appropriate forms and means to take concerted action for attaining their ideals of peace and progress.

Hence, hailing the presence of student sports people from 90 countries at the "'81 Universiade" hosted by our homeland's capital, I call on you, dear young friends, to do so as to make this great international sports contest strongly assert the students' wish for collaboration, friendship and peace, for working ever more united under the lofty banner of the struggle for a better and more just world.

May the students' sport contests tellingly prove the truth that the most reasonable, fruitful and beautiful competition among people, whatever the social system they live in, must be one of peace and collaboration, of the struggle for a better future of understanding and peaceful cooperation among all the nations of the world.

I am sure that, competing on the sports grounds, you will better know one one another, you will make good friends that will undoubtedly serve the general cause of peace and peaceful coexistence of the youths, of all the peoples of the world. We wish that the "'81 Universiade" will offer good opportunities for getting acquainted with the socialist Romania's youths, with their new life, with the conditions they have for education, moulding and assertion, with their ardent wish to make friends with the youths everywhere, their active contribution to the policy of peace and progress all over the world.

May the "'81 Universiade" go down as a fresh contribution to the promotion of friendship and understanding among the young peoples of all countries, to the noble cause of international peace and collaboration.

DZAVID NIMANI RESIGNS AS KOSOVO PRESIDENT

LD171540 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1331 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Statement issued by the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo on 17 July]

[Text] Pristina, 17 Jul (TANJUG)--Dzavid Nimani, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo [SAPK], submitted his resignation from the office of president of the SAPK at a session of the Presidency of the SAPK held on 14 July 1981. At the same time, Dzavid Nimani informed the Presidency of the SAPK that he will also submit to the Assembly of the SAPK his resignation from the position of member of the Presidency of the SAPK.

On this occasion, the Presidency decided that Azem Vlasi, member of the Presidency, should carry out the duties of president of the SAPK until the election of a new president.

In explanation of his resignation, Dzavid Nimani said: On this occasion I wish to stress again that I fully agree with the appraisals and conclusions of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee, the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee, the LCY Central Committee and other provincial republican and federal organs and organizations on the hostile activity and counterrevolutionary character of the demonstrations from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism in the SAPK. I myself was one of the direct active participants in the formulation of these appraisals, especially those of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee.

The enemy did not achieve its aim thanks to the determination of the League of Communists, the working class and the nations and nationalities of our province, primarily the broad masses of the Albanian nationality, to defend the gains of the socialist revolution, and thanks to the support from and solidarity of the nations and nationalities of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the entire country.

The Albanian nationality in Kosovo does not wish to have anything to do with nationalism and irredentism, because Albanian nationalism runs completely counter to its progressive aspirations and interests. Aware of this, the Albanian nationality, like all other nations and nationalities of our province and of the entire country, has most sharply condemned and continues to condemn hostile and counterrevolutionary actions and activity and is waging a resolute struggle to unmask, suppress and eradicate them.

The Albaniannationality has much to defend--the dignified, peaceful and free life in our socialist self-managing community, its equality with all the nations and nationalities of our country and its position as an active, equal and responsible participant in the building of our community. Thanks to this, to its own efforts and to the assistance from and solidarity of the working class and nations and nationalities of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and of Yugoslavia, Kosovo has undergone a comprehensive material and total social transformation on the basis of socialist self-management. These achievements in the development of Kosovo in Tito's Yugoslavia are all the more significant when one knows what our province was like when we started its socialist building.

The prospects for the further comprehensive and more rapid development of the province constitute a lasting source of optimism. The enemy succeeded in exploiting the discord created over a long period to facilitate the penetration of nationalism and irredentism into the awareness of a part of the student youth and of a smaller part of the rest of the population, and in accelerating on this basis its activity to the point of counterrevolutionary violence in Pristina and a number of municipalities of our province. The responsibility for this is borne not only by the League of Communists, but also by other subjective factors and those state organs and other institutions whose task it is to safeguard our social order and the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia.

Particular responsibility falls on political and state organs of the province. Therefore, further intensive political activity and cadre differentiation at all levels is necessary—through devoted political work with the masses, through consistent struggle for self-management and through actions by organized socialist forces led by the League of Communists--for political and economic stabilization in our province and further afield. These are the inseparable components of our sociopolitical life.

Through these actions we must continue to strengthen and further train the sociopolitical and state organs as well as all subjective socialist forces in order that they might even more persistently, efficiently and successfully play their roles and carry out their tasks in the struggle against enemy activity and its exponents, in the struggle to take serious and decisive measures to eliminate the numerous shortcomings and weaknesses manifested in the past in the work and activity of the League of Communists, the SAWP and the organs of power.

Proceeding from the policy of good neighborliness as one of the lasting orientations of our country's foreign policy, on the basis of our well-known principles, we have tried to make Kosovo a factor of rapprochement and friendship between Yugoslavia and Albania.

To this end certain social subjects of our province have developed contacts and cooperation with relevant partners in neighboring Albania.

However, our good will, readiness and openness for the development of good neighborliness between the two countries has been abused by the Albanian side. It has done this by developing enemy and subversive activity against our country; by recruiting people to spread greater Albanian nationalism, and to create dissatisfaction among Albanians and lack of trust and chauvinism toward other nations and nationalities of our country, in particular toward the Serbian people, by disparaging socialist self-management and the achievement of our development, and by attacking our party and state leadership.

Continuous anti-Yugoslav activity which has taken place by means of this coordination has been continued through intensive propaganda and subversive activity from Albania in the period following the enemy demonstrations. All this represents a crude violation of the basic principles of international relations, interference in our country's internal affairs and an overt manifestation of territorial claims from the positions of greater Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

We must openly state that in the process of the development of these relations we have not been vigilant enough, we have not energetically opposed the behavior of the Albanian leadership and we have not developed ideopolitical work which the situation calls for, in particular in some specific environments. The Albanian side has cleverly used this for its dirty aims. We must learn our lesson from this. It is our duty to oppose even more fervently all enemy and subversive attempts directed at our country regardless of from which side they might come.

Proceeding from the desire to contribute as much as possible to the struggle against the enemy, to contribute as much as possible to the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo, and to prevent the enemy from spreading speculations and misinformation linked with my name, I did not decide until today to resign on account of the situation which has arisen, though I have felt my own personal political responsibility as president of the Presidency of the SAPK.

However, now that the attempts undertaken by the counterrevolution have been crushed and the situation is moving in the direction of normalization, I have come to the conclusion that the time has come for me to submit my resignations from the posts of president and member of the Presidency of the SAPK.

I would also like to stress on this occasion that I will continue in the future to commit myself with all my strength and being to the struggle against the enemy, against Albanian nationalism and irredentism in Kosovo as well as against all other enemies who are trying to encroach upon the achievements of our socialist self-managing Yugoslavia, our country's integrity, the unity within the framework of our federalism, socialist democracy and the brotherhood and unity of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims and Turks in Kosovo and of the nations and nationalities of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and of the entire SFRY.

COMMENT ON KANIA'S REELECTION AS FIRST SECRETARY

Belgrade Radio

AU191953 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Special correspondent Branislav Canak report from Warsaw]

[Excerpts] At the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress today, the newly elected Central Committee had its second session presided over by First Secretary Stanislaw Kania. At the plenary session in the afternoon, Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke about the economic situation in Poland and indicated some ways out of this crisis. Here we have a report from Warsaw by our special correspondent Branislav Canak:

Premier Jaruzelski made a program speech which is to represent the basis of the government's work in the coming period. Yesterday's election of Stanislaw Kania to the office of first secretary made its imprint on the further work of the congress. With this election, the most important stage in the work of the congress was undoubtedly completed. The personality of Stanislaw Kania combined with the new Central Committee and other highest party bodies makes sure the basic supposition that the policy of the sixth plenum and the program documents which are to be adopted by the congress will be consistently implemented.

Certain that the new leadership will persevere on this road, the delegates, in a noticeably relaxed mood, continued their debate today at a plenary session.

TANJUG on Soviet Reaction

LD191845 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1622 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jul (TANJUG)--Leonid Brezhnev today congratulated Stanislaw Kania on his re-election as first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP). Brezhnev expressed the conviction that the "fraternal friendship linking the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Polish United Workers Party will further strengthen on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and social internationalism."

The above is the content of Brezhnev's telegramme of (?felicitations). Who remembers the telegramme sent from here last September, when Kania was first elected to the office, will see considerable differences at first sight. The September felicitation was much more extensive than the present.

The September telegramme states, inter alia, that the Soviet Union knows Kania as a staunch fighter for the "genuine interests and well-being of the people, for the ideals of communism, for strengthening the leading role of the PUWP, as a politician who stands firmly on the positions of proletarian internationalism and Poland's unbreakable friendship with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist states."

These differences are being interpreted in two ways. According to some sources, today's telegramme is so condensed because an extraordinary congress and extraordinary election are involved. Many observers, however, infer conclusions of political character from the differences. They interpret the telegramme as a confirmation of Soviet restraint.

In this context they cite the modest coverage of Kania's election in the Soviet party daily PRAVDA today. The Soviet Communist Party organ noted in just one sentence, in the middle of a brief report on yesterday's work of the congress, that Kania was elected first secretary.

More on Reaction

AU191954 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Text] Leonid Brezhnev, head of the Soviet state and party, has sent to Stanislaw Kania a brief telegram congratulating him on his reelection as first secretary of the PZPR. Kania's election, however, has received modest publicity in Moscow PRAVDA. In the course of the morning, the radio did not broadcast the results of the election or the manner of voting.

Hungarian papers publish the report on Stanislaw Kania's election without expressing any opinions. Reporting on the work of the congress commissions, the press continues to put stress on the positions which insist on a rapid overcoming of the economic crisis and the political struggle for enabling the Polish party to be the leading social force.

The Romanian party daily, SCINTEIA, reports today briefly on the continuation of the Polish party's extraordinary congress. The paper quotes the Polish news agency on the composition of the leading party organs without mentioning the persons elected.

DJURANOVIC PAYS OFFICIAL VISIT TO ATHENS 17-19 JUL

Talks With Karamanlis

LD171908 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1819 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Athens, 17 Jul (TANJUG)--President of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council Veselin Djuranovic, who arrived here today on an official visit to Greece, was received by Greek President Konstandinos Karamanlis. During a one-hour cordial and friendly meeting, Djuranovic and Karamanlis reaffired the traditionally friendly relations and cooperation existing between the two neighbouring countries.

They are reported to have carried out a frank exchange of views on all questions of interest to the two countries and to an expansion of their relations and cooperation.

Like in previous Yugoslav-Greek meetings, the two sides today noted a constructive development and continuous advancement of relations in all spheres. Such a development is in the interest not only of the two countries and their peoples but also that of peace, cooperation and security throughout the region and beyond. Both sides also stressed their countries readiness to make further efforts in order to diversify this cooperation both bilaterally and in the context of their international activities.

The promotion of relations is of both bilateral and broader importance, since Yugoslavia and Greece are great champions of the development of all-round relations and cooperation in the Balkans, the two sides stressed.

Both sides stressed the need for a revival of detente in the present international situation so that the process of negotiation may be encouraged and complete trust and understanding among states and peoples, i.e., peaceful solution of acute world problems reached. Yugoslavia and Greece are vitally interested in a revival of this process and are ready to do all they can for a revival of detente which is in a serious crisis.

The two sides expressed concern over both the present situation of international political life, and the crisis in international economic relations which seriously affects the two neighbouring countries.

In this context, Djuranovic and Karamanlis said that world economic problems, unless resolved without further delay, will turn into very serious political problems.

The talk between Yugoslav Premier Djuranovic and Greek President Karamanlis, which is another contribution to the concretisation of the Helsinki documents in the Balkan region, will doubtless be of broader importance too. The meeting in Athens, which took place in an exceptionally friendly atmosphere, will give an impetus to further efforts for promoting Yugoslav-Greek good-neighbourly cooperation.

This afternoon, Premier Djuranovic will have talks with Greek Prime Minister Yeoryios Rallis.

Talks With Rallis

LD172234 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2121 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Athens, 17 Jul (TANJUG)--The Yugoslav-Greek talks opened in Athens this evening with an extensive exchange of views between President of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council Veselin Djuranovic and Greek Prime Minister Yeoryios Rallis.

The main subjects of the talks were bilateral cooperation, the present conditions in the Balkans and Europe. Djuranovic and Rallis carried out an extensive exchange of views on cooperation between the two neighbouring countries, while paying special attention to the newly-emerged conditions after the joining of the European Community by Greece.

The very favourable development of Yugoslav-Greek relations and cooperation was noted with pleasure in view of the highly complex international situation characterized by crises in various regions. The two sides expressed their concern. They also expressed the readiness of the two countries to continue supporting the efforts aimed at strengthening the processes of detente, peace and cooperation in the world.

The Greek side emphasized that it extends full support to Yugoslavia in its negotiations with the European Community, which is also in the interest of Greece itself. In this context a direct consequence of Greece's membership in the EC, i.e., a halt in Yugoslav meat exports to the Greek market, was also discussed. It was agreed that the two sides find a satisfactory solution through intensive contacts, in view of Greece's interest in continued meat imports from Yugoslavia.

Both sides concluded that efforts should be invested towards using new forms of economic cooperation through the industrial cooperation or the setting up of joint economic enterprises, i.e., joint ventures because this kind of cooperation is much less subject to fluctuations.

In connection with the current Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the two sides stressed their countries' readiness to contribute towards efforts for maintaining the Helsinki spirit.

In discussing cooperation in the Balkans they pointed out the importance of good bilateral and multilateral relations in this region. Djuranovic stressed in particular that the development of good-neighbour relations is a vital component of Yugoslavia's foreign policy.

The Yugoslav premier also informed his host about Yugoslavia's activity within the Movement of Non-alignment. The Greek side stressed its appreciation of the role and activity of non-aligned Yugoslavia on the international scene, underlining also the importance of the movement's role for peace in the world.

Dinner Held

LD172206 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1926 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Athens, 17 Jul (TANJUG)--Greek Prime Minister Rallis gave a formal dinner tonight in honor of Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, at the Hotel Grande-Bretagne in the center of Athens. The dinner was attended by all participants in the Yugoslav-Greek talks and a large number of members of the Greek Government, and by outstanding personalities of political and public life in Greece. During the dinner the host and the guest exchanged toasts.

Djuranovic Toast

LD172212 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1606 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Athens, 17 Jul (TANJUG)--Replying to the toast of his host [Greek Prime Minister Rallis], Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, first thanked him and to the members of his entourage, emphasizing the joy with which the invitation was accepted to visit Greece "Which is for us not only the cradle of European civilization but also a friendly country and reliable neighbor."

"We are building good-neighborly relations and cooperation between our two countries on firm foundations which were, with the foresight for the permanent interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia and Greece, established by President Josip Broz Tito and President Konstandinos Karamanlis," Veselin Djuranovic stressed. He then said:

We came to Athens inspired by President Tito's words uttered in Split in 1979 during the visit of President Karamanlis to our country, to the effect that we must preserve and deepen the friendship between Yugoslavia and Greece, friendship which is historic and which is backed up by a long period of cooperation and good relations.

"Yugoslav-Greek relations are developing successfully in the spirit of friendship, trust and mutual respect. This is reason for satisfaction and also encouragement for fresh efforts and initiatives to strengthen and deepen further mutual cooperation and to find constructive solutions for all questions of importance for faster progress.

"It is obviously necessary that we make greater efforts to preserve and strengthen the traditional trade exchange between the two countries and to enrich economic relations by more decisive and faster introduction of higher forms of economic cooperation on long-term basis."

In continuation, the president of the Federal Executive Council said that the deterioration in the international situation, accompanied by unstable world economic and political relations and stagnation of detente, is causing great concern in our country. "The policy of detente is undergoing a serious crisis. The deterioration in relations between the United States and the USSR has lasted for a very long time and is extremely unfavorably reflected in the global situation and in the state of affairs of individual region.

"The arms race and the increasing emphasis on the military factor in international relations represent an increasingly dangerous expression and factor of this situation. Dangerous hotbeds of crisis in many areas, which ever more seriously threaten stability and peace in the world, remain unresolved and others are appearing. The latest development of events in the Near and Middle East especially causes concern. Unequal international economic relations and structural problems of the world economy represent serious obstacles to the positive changing of the world situation and especially negatively affect the position and prospects of the developing countries. The international community, despite the efforts of the United Nations and the activity of the developing and nonaligned countries, has not succeeded in finding solutions for these key questions of the contemporary world."

Stressing that Yugoslavia sees the way out of this situation through determined efforts by the entire international community to revive the process of detente, to resume as soon as possible the talks on the most important questions of disarmament, to embark on a just and lasting solution of the hotbeds of crisis on the basis of principles embodied in the UN Charter and to adopt the decision on the beginning of global talks on economic questions and on the building of a new international economic order, Djuranovic emphasized:

"With President Tito and after him, Yugoslavia as a nonaligned country has been actively striving for peace and equal international cooperation in conditions of security and independence which are equal for all members of the international community, for such democratic relations between countries and peoples which exclude pressures, interventions, threats of force of application of force and subordination of any kind.

"Yugoslavia has chosen as its permanent orientation the development of good-neighborly relations and all round cooperation with all neighboring countries on the basis of principles of independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of borders and noninterference in internal affairs. This was, is and will be in the future the essential component of Yugoslav foreign policy.

"We are conscious that we conduct such a policy in a stormy and troubled world, burdened by numerous differences, disputes and contradictions which are also manifested in our area. We are convinced, however, that the existing problems also can be gradually eliminated by constantly strengthening all-round cooperation, mutual understanding and trust. There is no question which cannot be resolved by political dialogue on the basis of good neighborliness, equality and reciprocal respect. Yugoslavia has persistently strived and continues also today wholeheartedly to strive in this direction. We are deeply convinced that this is the only way to secure peace and stability and that this area remains outside the reach of crises and conflicts which are upsetting many areas in the world."

Concluding his toast, the president of the Federal Executive Council said: "Yugoslavia and Greece have different international positions and sociopolitical systems but the same aspirations to cooperate and live in peace and friendship. Our two countries, European and Balkan, individually and together, because of their high level of mutual relations, are making an important contribution to the consolidation of peace and stability and to the extension of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Balkan Peninsula in keeping with the principles of the Helsinki Final Act."

"We are convinced that our talks, encouraging further development of Yugoslav-Greek relations and cooperation, will positively contribute to the strengthening of the climate of agreement-making, equal international cooperation, and peace and security in this part of the world," Veselin Djuranovic stressed.

Djuranovic, Rallis Statements

NC181702 Athens Armed Forces Radio in Greek 1100 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] The talks between Greek Prime Minister Rallis and Djuranovic, Yugoslav Federal Executive Council president, continued and were concluded today at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Today was the second day of talks during which they mainly discussed international issues and, in particular, Middle East and Mediterranean questions of interest to both countries. The talks were also attended by Foreign Minister Mitsotakis, Assistant Yugoslav Foreign Minister [title as heard] Obradovic, the Greek ambassador in Belgrade, the Yugoslav ambassador in Athens and other officials. Today, Mr Rallis and Mr Djuranovic had a private meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Answering questions from journalists after the meeting about whether he was satisfied with the help Greece renders as an EEC member to Yugoslavia, Mr Djuranovic said: On this matter, we had talks with Prime Minister Rallis both yesterday and today, and I can say I am very satisfied with these talks. It is obvious that Yugoslavia and Greece have found a common language to discuss the questions that have arisen as a result of Greece's integration into the EEC. I believe there is a mutually constructive position on this issue, and I hope that also in the future, with common efforts and activities, we will always find solutions satisfactory to both sides.

Answering another question on the point of Greek-Yugoslav relations following Greece's integration into the EEC, Mr Djuranovic said: I think I would not be exaggerating if I stated that Greek-Yugoslav relations are developing in the most satisfactory manner. The fact that Greece has become an equal member of the EEC as well as the existence of a special agreement between Yugoslavia and the community could contribute positively to the further development of our relations. Moreover, the good relations we are maintaining, Mr Djuranovic went on, also constitute a positive factor for the solution of problems that might arise from the new situation. I would like to repeat that the relations between our countries are based on sound foundations, which are the deepest mutual respect, respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of both countries, noninterference in the internal affairs, and a permanent interest by both sides for the defense of peace in the area. I look with optimism to the future of our relations, Mr Djuranovic concluded.

Answering a queston whether the Greek-Yugoslav summit talks also discussed questions of armaments control and balance of forces, Prime Minister Rallis said: Of course they have been discussed, because they are issues that are now of particular significance. We are in absolute agreement with the Yugoslav leaders that there should be a balance of armaments and, moreover, at the lowest possible level. However, there must be true balance; there should not be overarming of one side in relation to the other because, if something like this happens, we cannot be certain of the possibility of preserving peace. Only absolute balance between the two blocs ensures world peace.

Mr Rallis went on: Yugoslavia plays an important role in the sphere to which it belongs, that is, in the sphere of the nonaligned. Thanks to the wisdom of its leadership--both in the eras of Marshal Tito and the present era--Yugoslavia has managed to keep the nonaligned on the right path, that is the line of adherence to the nonaligned sphere. This policy cannot be easily accomplished and needs to be under constant observation. The prime minister added: What I can say is that Yugoslavia is playing this role very carefully, with great skill and with much prudence. I also believe that the Yugoslavs appreciate our activities and action within the bloc to which we belong because our action also tends to defend the balance of forces which, as I have also said about armaments, is the only way world peace can be ensured forever.

It is certain that disturbance of this balance can sometime create unpleasant repercussions for the entire world. This is why both we and the Yugoslavs want to avoid it at any cost, Mr Rallis stressed.

At the same time, referring to the topics discussed at the Greek-Yugoslav talks, Foreign Minister Mitsotakis said that among the first was also the question of importing veal to Greece which, because of the EEC system, has in fact been suspended as of 1 January 1981.

Mr Mitsotakis added: Greece supports the Yugoslav views on this matter about increasing the quantity of meat exports to the EEC countries and reducing the high import charges being imposed. It is hoped that a solution will be found soon so that the importation of Yugoslav meats may become possible as of 1 August. Another topic discussed was land transport from and to Greece through Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav side requested support for its demand that EEC finance the construction of its central road artery. The question of building the pipeline for transporting crude oil from Thessaloniki to the Skopje refineries was also discussed. Agreement was also reached, within the framework of touristic cooperation between the two countries, that crossing and communication between the two countries also be allowed through the (?Dojran) area.

Concerning the international topics discussed at the Greek-Yugoslav talks, Mr Mitsotakis said they included the question of East-West relations, balance of forces, progress of the Madrid conference--an issue, he added indicatively, to which both countries attach particular importance and have coinciding views--and the Polish and Middle East issues as well as the situation in the Balkans. With regard to the latter question, the foreign minister added, a coincidence of views was established on the need for cooperation among the Balkan countries and the need to strengthen the multilateral inter-Balkan cooperation.

The joint communique on the Greek-Yugoslav talks will be released simultaneously tomorrow in Athens and Belgrade.

Talks End

LD181750 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1605 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Athens, 18 Jul (TANJUG)--At the close of the official talks in Athens, the Yugoslav and Greek premiers, Djuranovic and Rallis respectively, considered the Near East crisis and the situation in the Middle East. The two sides pressed for a lasting and just solution of this problem, with participation in talks by PLO representatives. Expressing concern over the situation in that region, Djuranovic and Rallis pointed out that the current situation threatens to cause a conflict of wider proportions in that part of the world. It was assessed that the activity of the West European community in solution of the crisis in the Near East is highly significant at the moment. Djuranovic and Rallis also considered the question of disarmament in the world, as well as the question of economic development, that is the North-South dialogue. The two sides expressed hope that the mini-summit in Mexico will initiate the beginning of global negotiations on this problem. At the close of the talks it was assessed that the exchange of views was exceptionally useful and that provided the possibility of a constructive agreement on the further promotion of bilateral relations and good-neighbourly cooperation.

The Greek press today commented on the visit of Yugoslav Premier Djuranovic to Greece with the conclusion that "Greece and Yugoslavia have reemphasized the wish for further promotion of relations." KATHIMERINI underlines that the two countries are "interested in return of detente to Europe and that they oppose any use of force in solution of problems". Writing that the Yugoslav-Greek talks were devoted mostly to bilateral cooperation, TO VIMA points out that economic coperation between the two countries should continue to develop on old traditions.

Joint Communique Issued

LD181808 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1707 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Athens, 18 Jul (TANJUG)--Yugoslavia and Greece have expressed the conviction that the promotion of good-neighbour relations, understanding and friendship is in keeping with the interests of the nations of the Balkan Peninsula and contributes to the preservation of peace, security and cooperation in Europe.

The two countries strongly supported the continuation of bilateral and multi-lateral cooperation among the Balkan countries and upheld all actions to this end. The above is underlined in the Yugoslav-Greek communique issued here in Athens this evening following the talks between Premiers Djuranovic of Yugoslavia and Rallis of Greece. With his visit to Crete tomorrow, the Yugoslav premier ends his three-day visit to Greece.

The communique states that Djuranovic's current visit to Greece and his talks with President Karamanlis and Prime Minister Rallis give special impact to the further all-round development of Yugoslav-Greek good-neighbor cooperation, particularly economic. The present levels of economic and trade cooperation do not correspond to the real possibilities of the two countries' economies, it was noted during the talks. The readiness was stated to stimulate various forms of long-term economic cooperation, particularly industrial, technical and technological. The development of energy sources, agriculture and road and railroad transport is also to be given priority, it was noted. In this context, views were exchanged on the gas-pipe line between Greece and Yugoslavia and the Greek road transit traffic across Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia and Greece state the readiness to invest efforts for as soon as possible concluding a protocol to adjust the agreement on cooperation between Yugoslavia and the European Economic Community in view of Greece having joined the community.

In the context of topical international problems, the two countries' views on many questions are close or identical, it was noted. The use of force, intervention and other forms of interference in the internal affairs of other countries endanger the process of detente, peace and security in the world, it was mutually underlined. The need was stressed for all members of the international community to be committed to solving disputes strictly by peaceful means. On this occasion also, Yugoslavia and Greece stressed the importance of a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem on the basis of respect for the island-country's indepenence, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status. The hope was expressed that the Cyprus inter-communal dialogue will yield positive results.

The communique states that Yugoslavia and Greece support a comprehensive, lasting and equitable solution to the Middle East crisis, with the recognition of the Palestinian people's right to its own state. Greece and Yugoslavia maintain that the Non-aligned Movement plays an important role in international relations and makes a positive contribution to solving world problems by peaceful means.

Djuranovic Departs Athens

LD191042 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0828 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Excerpts] Athens, 19 Jul (TANJUG)--Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, today ended his 3-day official friendly visit to neighboring Greece and left Athens by plane for Belgrade.

Shortly after 1000, the president of the Federal Executive Council, Djuranovic, accompanied by his associates and Greek Foreign Affairs Minister Mitsotakis, left Heraklion and arrived in Athens by special plane, where a formal farewell was accorded him in the presence of Greek Prime minister Rallis and other officials. With this, the 3-day official visit to Greece ended, a visit which political circles here stress to have been exceptionally useful and providing fresh incentives to further promotion of comprehensive bilateral and good-neighborly cooperation between Yugoslavia and Greece.

Arrives in Belgrade

LD191344 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1132 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG)--Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, returned to Belgrade today after a 3-day official friendly visit to Greece at the invitation of Greek Prime Minister Yeoryios Rallis.